

वीर सेवा मन्दिर दिल्ली



क्रम संख्या

काल नं०

वर्ष

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विदुन्मानसहंसाना
गोलोकमधिनिष्ठताम् ।
गोविन्दमष्टपादानां
स्मृतिरेषा सनातनी ॥



Prof. Govindlal Hargovind Bhatt explaining the working of the Institute
to Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan.

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PROF. GOVINDALAL H. BHATT—IN MEMORIAM

By

J. S. PADR, Baroda

Prof. Govindalal H. Bhatt was an eminent scholar of Śuddhādvaita Vedānta, Classical Sanskrit literature, epics and Purāṇas and Gujarati language and literature.

Prof. Bhatt was born on September, 26, 1901 at Dāvol in Borsad Taluka of Kaira District, Gujarat State. His father Śrī Haragovinda Bhatt was well known as a preacher of Purāṇas and was also an Ayurvedic practitioner. Unfortunately Prof. Bhatt lost his father when he was five months old and was brought up under the care of his mother Kāśiben and his uncle who was a Baroda State servant. Prof. Bhatt's maternal uncle, who was a well-read Sanskrit Pandit and a follower of Śaṅkarācārya, took special interest in the education of his nephew and from his very childhood made him acquainted with the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata, Kāvya, Nāṭakas, Subhāśitas as well as the teachings of Vedānta. Prof. Bhatt's father-in-law Śrī Maganlal Shastri was a leading authority on the Pustimārga of Vallabhācārya. Thus were sown the seeds of the teachings of Vedānta, Epics and Purāṇas in Govindalal Bhatt who was destined to prepare a Critical Edition of the Rāmāyana of Vālmiki and to guide a number of students in different branches of Indology.

He had his higher education in the Ferguson College, Poona and in the Baroda College where he took his B.A. degree with First Class (Hons.) with Sanskrit (Principal) and Gujarati (Subsidiary) and joined the Deccan College, Poona for M.A. where he had the good fortune to have Dr. S. K. Belvalkar,

Prof. Maganlal Shastri and Prof. B. K. Thakore as his University teachers. At M.A. Prof. Bhatt stood first with Vallabha's Vedānta as his special subject. In 1926, he was appointed as a Junior Professor of Sanskrit in the Baroda College. After about 1930 he was appointed as the Head of the Department of Sanskrit of this College. He was a well reputed Professor, admired and respected by his students. From 1926 to 1950 he trained a number of scholars in Sanskrit some of whom are at present well known in different branches of Indology. In 1950 Prof. Bhatt became the Acting Director of the Oriental Institute and from 1952, when the Late Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya retired, he was confirmed as the Director.

As the Director of the Oriental Institute he enhanced its reputation and furthered the activities of the Oriental Institute by starting the Journal of the Oriental Institute and by directing as the General Editor the work of the Critical Edition of the Rāmāyana of Vālmīki. Prof. Bhatt himself edited the Bālakāṇḍa of the Critical Edition of the Rāmāyana.

Prof. Bhatt wrote a number of papers both in Gujarati & English, and also edited a number of works amongst which the following are noteworthy

- (1) Shri Tāmasaphala Prakarana Subodhinī (Bhagavata, 10.29-35) with an introduction and Gujarati translation (1943)
- (2) Anubhāṣya—Second adhyāya with Vivaraṇa (1950)
- (3) Vāyyāsakīnyāyamālā of Vrajanātha (1950)
- (4) Patrāvalambana—with three commentaries— Gujarati translation and notes (1960)
- (5) Pāda-Index of Vālmīki's Rāmāyana (Gaekwad's Oriental Series in two volumes) (1961)
- (6) Śuddhādvaita-siddhānta-pradīpa (in Gujarati) (1957)
- (7) Brahmasūtra—Anubhāṣya—First Adhyāya with translation and introduction (in Guj 1945)
- (8) Viśvanā Dharmo (in Gujarati) (1955)
- (9) Rājyābhiseka Grantha (in Gujarati) (1950)
- (10) Ātma-vṛttānta of Śrī Chotālāl Narabherām Bhatt with introduction (in Gujarati) (1953)

Prof. Bhatt was a life member of various research bodies like the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, the Vishveshvaranand Research Institute, Hoshiarpur etc.

He retired as Director, Oriental Institute in 1958 but continued to work as the Head of the Rāmāyana Department and General Editor of the Critical Edition of the Vālmīki Rāmāyana till he breathed his last on April 4, 1965.

On 15-8-1964, about eight months before his passing away, his services to the cause of Sanskrit learning were recognised by the President of India by an award of a *Certificate of Honour*.

On account of his death the world of learning has lost a great Sanskrit Scholar

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EDITOR

QUOTATIONS FROM THE RĀMĀYAṆA IN THE KATHĀ LITERATURE

By

LUDWIK STERNBACH, New York (N Y.)

1. The aim of this study is to ascertain what verses in the main *kathā*-works are identical or almost identical with the Rāmāyaṇa (R.); to analyze them, and to establish, as far as possible, whether they are quotations from the Rāmāyaṇa or another work of Sanskrit literature.

As far as the R. is concerned, the critical Baroda edition (R (Bar)) (first four volumes)¹, the Bombay edition (R (B)) and R (R)², the Eastern version (R (G))³ and the North-Western version (R (L))⁴ were used.

As the main *kathā* works the Pañcatantra (P) in all its different versions⁵ the Hitopadeśa (H)⁶, the Śukasaptati (Śuk) in two versions⁷; the Vetālapañ-

¹ The Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa Critically edited for the first time Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1960 At the time when this study was prepared only the first four volumes of this work were available to me

² Rāmāyaṇa Bombay edition Edition, Reprinted in MS form Bombay (no date), Also: Srimadvālmiki Rāmāyaṇam, published by N. Ramaratnam, Second ed. revised Printed at the M L J Press, Private Ltd., Mylapore, Madras, 1958

³ Rāmāyaṇa, poema indico di Valmiki Testo sanseinto secondo i codici manoscritti della scuola Gaudana per Gaspare Gorresio 5 vols, Parigi, 1843-50

⁴ Lahore edition

⁵ Tantrākhyāyikā version, in Harvard Oriental Series, No. 14 (P1) and in *Abhandlungen der phil.-hist. Klasse der kon. sächs. Ges. der Wiss.* XXII 5, Leipzig, 1904 (P1em) The Southern version in *Abhandlungen der phil.-hist. Klasse der kon. sächs. Ges. der Wiss.* XXIV 5, Leipzig, 1906 (P2)

The Nepālī version, as quoted in PS lxxvii, 100-26, J. Hertel's P I, Leipzig und Berlin, B. G. Teubner, 1909, I, pp. 117-35 and PRE, 2 192-258. (PN)

The *textus orationis* version (of Pūrṇabhadra) in Harvard Oriental Series Nos. 11-12 (PR)

The *textus simplicior* version in Bombay Sanskrit Series 1, 2 and 4 (Pts) and edited by I. G. L. Kosegarten (Ptsk)

The Iama-Recension (Meghavijaya) in ZDMG 57 630 (PM)

The Pañcatantra of Durgasimha by A. Venkatasubbish, in *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, 6, 255 sqq. (PD), and.

The Pañcatantra Reconstructed by F. Edgerton, in *American Oriental Series*, Nos. 2-3 (PRE)

⁶ The working text was by F. Johnson, second edition, Hartford-London, 1864 (HJ.) For the correlation with other seven texts, see L. Sternbach, The Hitopadeśa and its Sources, in *American Oriental Series*, No. 44 Annex

⁷ Śukasaptati *textus simplicior* in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 10 1.

Śukasaptati, *textus orationis* (Śto) in *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil. Kl. 21.2

cavimsatikā (Vet.) in two versions ⁸ and the Vikramacarita (Vik.) in four versions ⁹ were considered.

As far the Mahābhārata is concerned, the critical Poona edition (MBh) (Bh), the P.C. Roy's Bombay edition (MBh (R)) ¹⁰ and the Calcutta edition (MBh (C)) ¹¹ were used.

The detailed analysis of the twenty-two verses ¹² (or twenty-four) identical (or almost identical) in R. and different *kathā*-works is given in the Annex.

2. The Rāmāyana is a compact work; it never brakes the solid chain of one principal and paramount subject which it always keeps in view. It contains few didactic discourses and, quite differently from the Mahābhārata, contains very few sententious maxims. While the Mahābhārata is an encyclopaedia and a thesaurus of Hindu mythology and legendary stories, an anthology of sententious maxims and gnomic verses, the Rāmāyana is a story book, a story of a legend which became an epic.

3. The rarity of sententious maxims in the Rāmāyana is the reason why only in few cases the Rāmāyana verses were quoted in the *kathā* literature. While some verses of the Mahābhārata could have been traced in the main *kathā* works to that epic, it was possible to identify only twenty-two different verses, as identical in the main *kathā* works and in the Rāmāyana. Out of these twenty-two verses fifteen appear both in the Rāmāyana and in the Mahābhārata ¹³. In most cases the text, as it appears in the *kathā* works stands even nearer to the Mahābhārata, than to the Rāmāyana, that seems to prove that these verses in the *kathā* works were not quotations from the Rāmāyana but from the Mahābhārata. Sometimes, however, the verse is identical, or almost identical, in the Rāmāyana on one side and in the Mahābhārata and in the *kathā* work, on the other, than, of course, if there are no other bases for the identification of the verse, it is impossible to conclude whether the verse is a quotation from the Rāmāyana or from the Mahābhārata.

⁸ The Vetālapāncavimsatikā, Śivadāsa version, (Vet.) in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 8. 1

The Vetālapāncavimsatikā, Śivadāsa version according to the MS samvat 1544, (Vet. Hu¹ and Hu²) in *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königl. sächs. Ges. der Wiss. Phil.-hist. Kl.* 66. 1

⁹ Vikrama's Adventures in four recensions Southern (VCsr), Metrical (VCmr), Brief (VCbr), Jambhic (VCjr) in *Harvard Oriental Series* Nos. 26 and 27

¹⁰ Third edition, Calcutta 1886-8 (MBh (R)).

¹¹ Published by the Asiatic Society, Bengal 834-9. (MBh (C))

¹² Two verses occur in two different kanda-s. No. 6 in the Ayodhya-kāṇḍa and in the Uttara-kāṇḍa and No. 9 in the Aranya-kāṇḍa and the Yuddha-kāṇḍa, so that the number of Rāmāyana verses quoted in the *kathā* literature amounts to 24

¹³ Nos. 1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14=9, 15, 20, 21, 27, 23=6 and 24.

4. The philological analysis of the fifteen verses quoted in the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata and at least one *kathā* work shows that two verses (Nos. 7 and 15) were borrowed from the Mahābhārata (the Hitopadeśa text [No. 7] and the Pañcatantra text, but not in the Southern and the Durgāsiṃha versions) and not from the Rāmāyana, one verse (No. 4) was borrowed from the Eastern Recension of the Rāmāyana, as included in the Kiskindhā-kāṇḍa, (but not as included in the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa) and not from the Mahābhārata or other versions of the Rāmāyana (the Pañcatantra, Vetāla-pañcaviṃśatikā and the Vikramacarita text); and the rest, i.e. twelve verses were borrowed either from the Mahābhārata or from the Rāmāyana (Nos. 1, 11 and 20 which are Pañcatantra verses; Nos. 9/1/4, and 22 which are Pañcatantra, Hitopadeśa, Vikramacarita, and Śukasaptati verses; Nos. 13 and 24 which are Hitopadeśa verses [No. 24 with variants], Nos. 6/23 which are Pañcatantra and Hitopadeśa verses), the Mahābhārata or from the Eastern version of the Rāmāyana (No. 12 which is a Pañcatantra verse; No. 21 which is a Pañcatantra and Hitopadeśa verse [but the Hitopadeśa verse with variants]).

If the verses were included in the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata on the one hand and the Pañcatantra and the Hitopadeśa on the other, the Hitopadeśa text is usually further removed from the original, i.e. from the Mahābhārata and/or from the Rāmāyana, this is quite understandable, since, the Hitopadeśa if also included in the Pañcatantra, were usually borrowed not from the original source, but from the Pañcatantra and with each subsequent borrowing the language of the original verse changed more and more.

5. The philological analysis, however, does not always prove the point in question, since the variants are often unimportant and the borrowing could have been made by the compilers of the *kathā* works not from the epics directly but from the floating mass of oral tradition. Also the fact that in some cases, from the philological point of view, the borrowing of one or another Pañcatantra or Hitopadeśa verse was made from the Eastern or from the North Western version does not prove that this text was only prevalent in the part of India. It could have been included by haphazard in one or another text.

6. Of the remaining nine verses which are identical or almost identical in the Rāmāyana (only) and one or another text of the *kathā* literature, three verses are found in the Hitopadeśa (Nos. 5, 8 and 10 in all three cases, but in particular in verse No. 10, the Hitopadeśa text changed partly the Rāmāyana text); two verses are found in the Pañcatantra (Nos. 18 and 19; the variants are small, verse No. 18 follows the North-Western Version of the Rāmāyana); one verse is found in the Pañcatantra and the Hitopadeśa (No. 2, the Hitopadeśa has more important variants than the Pañcatantra, in particular the Nepālese version of the Pañcatantra); two verses are found in the Vetālapañca-

viṃśatikā (Nos. 16 and 17; both these verses were borrowed directly from the Rāmāyaṇa, since both, one after the other, occur in the Rāmāyaṇa); and one is found in the Vikramacarita (No. 3; it is nearer to the Eastern version of the Rāmāyaṇa than to any other text of the Rāmāyaṇa).

7. Of the four verses which are similar, but not exactly the same in the Rāmāyaṇa and in the various *kathā* works, one appears in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Māhābhārata and the Pañcatantra (No. 26) and three appear in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Pañcatantra only (Nos. 25, 27 and 28). These four verses were probably influenced by the Rāmāyaṇa and/or the Māhābhārata (No. 26 only).

8. All the verses analyzed in the annex are well known; they appear also in other works of Sanskrit literature, in particular among so-called Cāṇakya's maxims (Nos. 4, 7, 11, 12, 21, 22 and 24) and the Garuḍa-purāṇa (Nos. 6/23), but also among the Bhartṛhari's Śataka-s, the Skanda-purāṇa, the Gobhila-smṛti, the Pañcarātra, the Divyāvadāna; almost all are also quoted in Subhāṣita-samgraha-s, proving their popularity, and some were even included in the literature of "Greater India" (Nos. 6/23, 7, 11, 19 and 24).

9. In the annex the various Rāmāyaṇa verses, which also occur in some *kathā* works are quoted in the order as they appear in the Rāmāyaṇa. First the Rāmāyaṇa text is given, then references: (1) to the Rāmāyaṇa text; (2) to the Māhābhārata text, if the Rāmāyaṇa text appears also in the Māhābhārata; (3) to the *kathā* works; (4) to other primary sources; (5) to secondary sources (i.e. anthologies, Subhāṣita-samgraha-s); and (6) to works of "Greater India". Then variants from the Rāmāyaṇa text are given. These variants show to what extent the Rāmāyaṇa text or, where applicable the Māhābhārata text, was used in the *kathā* works. Not all variants were quoted, but only those which show the extent of borrowing from one or another source.

10. The results of the analysis of the Rāmāyaṇa verses identical in the different *kathā* works are summarized in the following table. It gives in the first fifteen lines those Rāmāyaṇa verses which occur also in the Māhābhārata and in one or more *kathā* works. The next twelve lines deal with those verses which appear only in the Rāmāyaṇa and in one or more *kathā* works.

Figures in brackets in the first column refer to the Rāmāyaṇa verses which are only similar but not identical in the Rāmāyaṇa and in the *kathā* works. × denotes that the Rāmāyaṇa verse occurs in the respective *kathā* works or other sources. The last column gives the probable primary source (pps.) of the *kathā* verses which occur in the Rāmāyaṇa.

11. The following additional abbreviations¹⁴ were used in the analytical table and in the annexes :

¹⁴ For other abbreviations see para 1. above (footnotes 1-11).

- AKM. . Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.
- AJPh. American Journal of Philosophy.
- AlK. Alamkāraustubha of Viśveśvara Pt. Kāvya-māla 66.
- AP. Alamkāramuktāvalī by Parvatīya Śrī Viśveśvara Pāṇḍeya. Kāśī SSR. 54.
- BhŚ. Śatakatrayādi-sūbhāsitasaṅgraha of Bhartṛhari... by D.D. Kośambi. Śiṅghī Jaina Granthamālā 23. Bombay, 1948
- CKr. Stimmen indischer Lebensklugheit. Die unter Cānakya's Namen gehende Spruchsammlung in mehreren Recensionen untersucht und nach einer Recension (Vṛddha-cānakya) übersetzt bei O. Kressler, in *Indica* 4. Leipzig, 1907.
- CNG. The Recension of Cānakya used by Galanos for his 'Ek' διαφωτιστικῶν by George Melville Bolling. In Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield. New Haven, 1920.
- CNI I MS. No. 1518a (Eggeling 3990) in the Library of the India Office, London.
- GNP I MS. No. 17072-3 (A) in the Université de Paris. Institut de Civilisation Indienne.
- CNP II CN MS No. 17072-1 (B) in the Université de Paris. Institut de Civilisation Indienne.
- CNPh. CN MS. No. 1566 in the University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia Pa.
- CNT IV. CN, MS. No. 5119, as quoted in CKr. as TjD.
- CNW. CN, A Weber. Über 100 Sprüche des Cānakya In Monatsberichte der kon. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1864. Berlin, 1865, pp. 400-31.
- CnT. Note-book MSs.
- CnT II. CnT ; MS. No. 5117, as quoted in CKr. as TjB.
- CnT III. CnT ; MS. No. 5118, as quoted in CKr. as TjC.
- CnT V CnT ; MS. No. 5120, as quoted in CKr. as TjE.
- CPS. Vṛddha-Cānakya. Ed. by Pt. Śrī Rāma Śāstri. Calcutta, 1777.
- CRr. Cānakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version, reconstructed. see CTT.
- CSr. Cānakyaśāra-sāṃgraha version. reconstructed. See CTT.
- CTT. L. Sternbach. Cānakya-Nīti-Text-Tradition, Vishveshvaranand Indological Series 27, 28, 29.

- CVr. Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* version, reconstructed. See CTT.
- Cvr. Vṛddha-cāṇakya, *textus simplicior* version, reconstructed. See CTT.
- Damp. Dampatīśikṣāṇāmaka, as quoted in IS.
- GP. Garuḍa-Purāṇa...Maharṣi Vedavyāsa...Ed. by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara. Calcutta, 1890.
- HS. Hitopadeśa id est Institution Salutaris. Textum cod. mss. collatis recensuerunt, interpretationem latinam et annotationes criticas adiecerunt Augustus Guilelmus a Schlegel et Caristianus Lassen. Pars. I: textum sanscritum tenens. Pars. II. commentarium criticum tenens. Bonnae ad Rhenum, 1831. typis regis. Prostat apud Eduardum Weber. bibliopolam Bonnensem.
- IS Indische Spruche, Sanskrit and Deutsch herausgegeben von O. Böhtlingk. Zweite vermehrte u. verbesserte Ausgabe. I-III. St. Petersburg, 1870-3.
- JAOS. Journal of the American Oriental Society.
- JASB Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- JM. Jalhana's Mugdhopadeśa, in KM. VIII 125
- JRAS. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,
- JS The Sūktimuktāvalī of Bhagadatta Jalhana. Ed. . . . by Embar Krishnamāchārya. Baroda, 1938. GOS. 82.
- JSAIL. L. Sternbach, Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law.
24. in No. 28 of the American Oriental Society Reprint Series.
26. In S. K. Belvalkar Felicitation Volume, pp. 127-48.
30. In the JAOS. 83. 1; pp. 30-67.
31. In Mm. Pt. Gopinath Kaviraj Commemoration Volume.
- KṣB. The Bṛhatkathāmañjarī of Kṣemendra Edited by . . . Paṇḍit Śivadatta . . . and Kāśināth Pānduraṅg Parab. KM. 69. Bombay, 1901. Also: Der Auszug aus dem Pañcatantra in Kṣemendras Bṛhatkathāmañjarī. Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen von Leo von Mañkowski. . . Leipzig, 1892.
- KSS. Kathāsaritsāgara. Ed by H. Brockhaus. AKM. 2.5 and 4.5.
- LN (P). The Lokanīti in " Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources; or the Nīti Literature of Burma " by J. Gray,

- London, Truebner and Co., 1886. (Pāli) and in JASB 47, Part I, Calcutta, 1878 p. 239 sqq.
- NKy (B). Nrti Kyan. Translation of a Burmese Version of the Niti Kyan a Code of Ethics in Pāli (Burmese) JRAS 17 of 1860. p. 252 sqq.
- NM (T). Nitiśāstra of Masūrākṣa. Tibetan and Sanskrit with an Introduction in English, by Sunitikumar Pathak. Viśva Bhārati Annals Vol. X. Santiniketan, 1961. (Tibetan).
- NMS. Nāradiya-manu-saṃhitā. Ed. by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstri. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 97.
- PrC. Prabandha-cintāmaṇi of Merutuṅgācārya. Ed. by Jinavijaya Muni. Siṅghī Sanskrit Series, 1.
- ŚKDr. Śābdakalpadruma I-V, CHSS 93.
- SkP. Skanda-Purāṇa Veṅkateśvara Press, Bombay, 1908-9.
- ŚP. The Paddhati of Śārṅgadharma, a Sanskrit anthology. Edited by Peter Peterson.....Vol. I. BSS. 37. Bombay, 1888.
- SR Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra. Enlarged and re-edited by Narāyaṇa Rāma Āchāraya Kāvyaśiṭha 8th Edition, Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, 1952.
- SRH Sūktiratnaḥara of Sūrya. Ed. by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstri Trivandrum Sanskrit Series CXLI, 4th Citrodāyamañjun XXX, Trivandrum, 1938.
- SRK. Subhāṣitaratnākara A collection of witty and epigrammatic sayings in Sanskrit. Compiled and edited by Kṛṣṇa Śāstri Bhāṭṭaḍekar. Bombay, 1872.
- SRN (T). Sa-skye legs-bcad Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi. W. L. Campbell, Ost-Asiatische Zeitung, Neue Folge 2 of 1925, pp. 31-65. 159-185. (Tibetan and Mongolian).
- SS (OJ). Sārasamuccaya in Śāta-piṭaka Series, 24. (Old Javanese)
- Sakr. Saṃskṛta-pāṭhopakāra, as quoted in IS.
- SuM. Subhāṣitamuktāvalī. Ed. by R. N. Dandekar. University of Poona, 1962.
- VP. Padyataraṅgi of Viṣṇanātha, as quoted by N. A. Gore in P.O. 11.46-56.
- VS. The Subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabhadeva. Edited by Peter Peterson BSS. 31. Bombay, 1886.
- ZDMG. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

ANNEXTURE

1 गुरोरप्यवलिप्तस्य कार्याकार्यमज्ञानतः 1 ।

उत्पद्ये प्रतिपक्षस्य 2 कार्य 3 भवति शासनम् 4 ॥

R (Bar) II App. I. No. 12, R. 75+D₂ Ins and ad 2.18, 11 (454 * l. 3-4)
i R (B) 2.21, 13; R (R) 2.21, 13, R (G) 2.22, 11; R (L) 2.25, 12.

MBh (Bh) 12 138, 48; MBh (R) 1.142, 52-3, 5, 179, 25; 12.140, 48; MBh
(C) 12, 5294-5.

P (PT 1, 121, PTem 1.110; PN 2.87, PP 1.169, PF 1.306; 1.341; PRE
1.120).

Prabodhacandodaya 1.22, Pañcarātra 1.10, 20.

SRHt 90.5, ŚKDr ad परिस्वाग, SRK 249 80, SR 167.634, IS 2180.

2 स्पृशन्निव 1 गजो हन्ति जिघ्रन्निव 2 भुजंगमः ।

स्यान्निव नृपो हन्ति 3 मानयन्निव 4 दुर्जनः ॥

R (Bar) ad 2.23, 32 (610 *) in Dd₁ Dm₂ D₄ T₁, 2, ins (only) and ed.
Schlegel 2.26, 35.

P (PT 3.55, PTem 3.42; PS 3.31; PN 3.26; PP 3. p. 185, l. 21 [cf. 2.170],
Pts 3.83; PFK 3 80; PM 2.65; PRE 3.43); H (HJ 3.15).

(Cf. Rājataranginī 5 323).

ŚP 1447, VS 2752, SRHt 238.24, SR 153.22; IS 7249.

3 नातन्त्रा वागन्ते वीणा नाचको वर्तन्ते रथः ।

नापतिः मुखमेधेन 1 या स्यादपि शतात्मजा 2 ॥

R (Bar) 2 34, 25, R (B) 2, 39, 29, R (R) 2.39, 29-30; R (G) 2.38, 24.
VCsr 30.12.

SRHt 26.1, IS 3552

1 1 कार्याकार्यमज्ञानतः. PT (PRE as above).

2 उत्पद्येप्रतिपक्षस्य PT MBh (Bh).

3 स्यात्पद्ये PT; दण्डो MBh (Bh) but D, TG₄ M₃ as above.

4 कामकारप्रवृत्तस्य (कामकार) न कार्यं भुवनां वष R (Bar) (but 454 * as above).
R (G), R (L).

2 1 अपि PT (but PN as above). HJ.

2 अपि PT (but PN as above). HJ.

3 हसन्नपि च वेतालो PT, हसन्नपि नृपो हन्ति PRE; पालयन्नपि भूपाल HJ.

4 अपि PT (but PN as above); प्रहसन्नपि HJ.

3 1 आमेति R (G), VCsr.

2 नारी यद्यपि सुप्रजा R (G), नारी बभ्रुशूनैरपि VCsr.

- 4 मितं ददाति हि पिता मितं माता¹ मित्रं सुतः ।
 अमितस्य हि² दातारं³ भर्तारं का न पूजयेत्⁴ ॥
 R (Bar) 2.34, 26 and 4. App. 1, No. 11, l. 48-9; R (B) 2.39, 30; R (R) 2.39, 30-1; R (G) 2.38, 25 and 4.20, 4.
 MBh (Bh) 12.144, 6; MBh (R) 12.148, 6; MBh (C) 12. 5566-7.
 P (PFK 3.156, PM 3.55); Vet 4.19; VCsr 30.9.
 C (CNP II 220; CNT IV 175).
 ŚP 4011; SRHt 29, 2; SR 361.4; 154848, Dāmp 60.
 (Cf. AJPh 20.29; JSAIL 30.99 and 31.1).
- 5 शोचन्तो ननु¹ सखेहा बान्धवाः सुहृदस्तथा ।
 पातयन्ति गतं² स्वर्गादधुपातेन³ राघव ॥
 R (Bar.) 2. App. 1. No. 23, 97-8; R (G) 2.81, 22; R (L) 2.85, 22.
 H (HS 4.74).
 IS 6535.
- 6 सर्वे क्षयान्ता निचयाः¹ पतनान्ताः² समुच्छ्रयाः ।
 सयोगा विप्रयोगान्ता³ मरणान्तं च⁴ जीवितम्⁵ ॥
 R (Bar) 2.98, 16 and 7. n. l., R (B) 2.105, 16 and 7.52, 11; R (R) 2.105, 16 and 7.52, 11, R (G) 2.114, 3,—
 MBh (Bh) 12.27, 29, 11.2, 3; 12.317, 20 and 14.44, 18, MBh (R) 12.27, 29, 11.2, 3; 12.330, 20 and 14.44, 19, MBh (C) 12.829, 11.48, 12.12501 and 14.1230.
 P (PT 2.165, PTem 2.147; PF in Göttingen Gelehrte Aur 1862, p. 1363), H, (HS ad 1.180; HH 32.25); (cf. KSS 9.51, 26-7).
 Gobhila-smṛti (Ānss) 3.43; Divyāvadāna (ed. Cowell) p. 27; GG 1.115, 60.
 SRHt 262.7. SR 372.167, IS 6948.
 SS (OJ) 471.
 (Cf. JSALL 30.74, 31.4).
- 4 ¹ भ्राता R (G) Kiskindhākāṇḍa, P, Vet, VCsr.
² तु MBh, Vet; च VCsr.
³ दानिकः R (G) Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa (only).
⁴ सुखस्थार्थपतिः मित्राः R (G) Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa (only).
- 5 ¹ शोचमानस्तु IIS.
² सा त HS.
³ स्वर्गम् R (G)
- 6 ¹ सर्वत्र जन्तोर्निधमात् H.
² पततश्च H.
³ संयोगाश्च वियोगाश्च (°गान्ता R (G)) H, R (G).
⁴ हि MBh, H.
⁵ जीवन् H.

7 यथा काष्ठं च काष्ठं च समेयातां महार्णवे¹ ।

समेत्य च व्यपेयातां² कालमासाद्य कंचन³ ॥

R (Bar) 2.98, 25; R (B) 2.105, 26; R (R) 2.105, 26; R (G) 2.114, 12, MBh (Bh) 12.28, 36 and 12.168, 15; MBh (R) 12.28, 36 and 12.174, 16; MBh (C) 12.868-9 and 12.6471-2.

H (HJ 4.72).

C (CR r " N " ; CPS 151.47).

VS 3287; SRHt 263.17, IS 5093; Sskr 57.

SS (OJ) 490.

(Cf. JSAIL 24.106; 30.85, 31.5).

8 नगरस्थो बनस्थो वा¹ पापो वा यदि बाधुमः² ।

यासां स्त्रीणां प्रियो भर्ता तासां लोका महोदयाः ॥

R (Bar) 2.109, 23, R (B) 2.117, 23; R (R) 2.117, 22-3, R (G) 3.2, 22.

H (HS 3 28).

IS 3218.

9 सुलभाः पुरुषा राजन्सततं प्रियवादिनः ।

अप्रियस्य च¹ पथ्यस्य वक्ता श्रोता च दुर्लभः ॥

R (Bar) 3.35, 2, 6. n. 1, R (B) 3.37, 2 and 6.16, 21; R (R) 3.37, 2 and 6.16, 20-1; R (G) 3.41, 2 and 5.88, 16.

MBh (Bh) 5.37, 14 and ad 5.34, 4; 186 *; MBh (R) 5.36, 15; MBh (C) 5.1348.

P (PP 1.220, PF 2.160 and 3.6; PFK 2 171; PD 303 65, PM 1 89), H₁ (HS ad 2.60); ŚFs 76.7-8 and 199.6-7; VCmr 30.44-5.

Nāṭakalakṣaṇa-ratnakośa 2948-9, ŚP 1360 VS 2838 JS 407 48; SR Ht 100.18, SR 145.115, SRK 234.33, IS 7131.

10 दीपतिर्वर्णगन्धं च सुहृद्वाक्यमरुन्धतीम् ।

न जिघ्रति मुमुर्षुर्यो न शृणोति न पश्यति¹ ॥

R (Bar) ad 3.51, 14 (1017 *, 3-4); R (B) —; R (R) —, R (G) 3.59, 16.

H (HJ 1.78).

SR 163, 448; IS 2815.

7 ¹ महोदयी R (G). MBh (Bh), H.

² व्यतीयाता MBh (Bh) (but K₈, s₁, V₁ B Da Dn D₂, s₂, s₃, S as above).

³ स्थित्वा किञ्चित् क्षणान्तरम् R (G); तद्वद्गतसमागमः MBh, H.

8 ¹ समस्थो विषमस्थो वा R (G).

² यदि वा शुचिः R (G); वा शुचि H.

9 ¹ तु R (R) 6.16, 26; R (G) 3.41.1, MBh (Bh); PP (PF as above), ŚF (both places), VCmr.

10 ¹ न जिघ्रति न शृण्वन्ति न पश्यन्ति गतायुषः H.

11 ब्रह्मणे च सुरापे च¹ चोरे² भग्नव्रते तथा³ ।

निष्कृतिर्विहिता⁴ सङ्ग्रहः⁵ कृतघ्ने नास्ति निष्कृतिः ॥

R (Bar) 4.33, 12; R (B) 4.34, 12; R (R) 4.34.12; R (G) 4.34, 18-9.

MBh (Bh) 12.263, 11; *ad* 12.166, 25 (445*; 27-8) and *ad* 12.267.20 (449*; 32-3); MBh (R) 12.270, 11; MBh (C) 12.9765: *cf.* MBh (Bh) 5.105, 10.

P (PP 4.10 and 1.248; PF 4.10 and 3.157, PFK 4.11, PM 1.95).

C (CRr 7.72; CPS 185.29); GP 1.114, 69.

ŚP 704, VS 2988; ŚKDr *ad* निष्कृतिः; IS 2198.

SS (OS) 328.

12 विद्यते गोषु संपन्नं¹ विद्यते ब्राह्मणे दमः² ।

विद्यते स्त्रीषु चापत्यं³ विद्यते ज्ञातितो भयम्⁴ ॥

R (Bar) n. 1.; R (B) 6.16, 9; R (R) 6.16, 9; R (G) 5.88, 9.

MBh (Bh) 5.36, 56; MBh (R) 5.35, 58; MBh (C) 5.1317.

P (PP 4.64; PF 4.115, PFK 4.81, PM 4.70).

(*Cf.* CSr 3.9; CNW 54, CNPh 58).

IS 6880 and 6078.

13 यो हि धर्मं समाश्रित्य¹ हित्वा भर्तुः प्रियाप्रियम्² ।

अप्रियाण्याह पय्यानि तेन राजा सहायवान् ॥

R (Bar) n. 1.; R (B)—; R (R)—; R (G) 5.88, 17.

MBh (Bh) 5.37, 15; MBh (R) 5.36, 16; MBh (C) 5.1349.

H (HJ 4.21).

IS 5663.

14 मुलभाः पुरुषा राजन् See No. 9.

R (Bar) n. 1., R (B) 6.16, 21, R (R) 6.16, 20-1; R (G) 5.88.16 See No. 9.

11 ¹ गोघ्ने चैव सुरापे च R (B), R (G).

² चोरे R (B), R (G), MBh (R). PP 4.10, PF, PFK: ऋषे PP 1.248, R (G); गोघ्ने R (B).

³ स्नेहे च गुरुतल्पगे CRr; शटे [त°] PP 1.248, PFK.

⁴ विद्यते CRr.

⁵ राजन् CRr, R (G).

12 ¹ संभाव्यं गोषु संपन्नं R (G), MBh, PP, PF, PFK.

² संभाव्यं ब्राह्मणे तपः R (G), MBh, PP, PF, PFK.

³ संभाव्यं स्त्रीषु चापत्य MBh, PP, PF, PFK; चापत्यं स्त्रीषु संभाव्यं R (G).

⁴ संभाव्यं ज्ञातितो भयं R (G), MBh, PP, PF, PFK.

13 ¹ धर्ममुपश्रित्य R (G); पुरस्कृत्य HJ.

² प्रियाप्रिये MBh.

- 15** श्रूयते हि कपोतेन शत्रुः शरणागतः ।
 अर्चितश्च ¹ यथान्धार्यं स्वैश्च मांसैर्निचन्विनः ² ॥
 R (Bar) n. i.; R (B) 6.18, 24; R (R) 6.18, 24-5; R (G) 5.91, 4.
 MBh (Bh) 12.141, 4; MBh (R) 12.143, 4; MBh (C), 2.5462.
 P (PT 3.78; PTem 3.67; PS 3.46; PN 3.37; PP 3.120; PFK 3.139 and 3.190;
 PD 312.187; PRE 3.64), cf. KŚB 16.479-80.
- 16** बद्धाञ्जलिपुटे वीने याचन्तमपराधिनम् ¹ ।
 हन्यमानमरि दृष्ट्वा ² विपुणा शरणागतः ³ ॥
 R (Bar) n. 1., R (B) 6.18, 27; R (R) 6.18, 27-8; R (G) 5.91, 8.
 Vet. 19.8.
 SRHt 168.2 (attributed to MBh).
- 17** आपो वा यदि वा व्रतः ¹ परेषां शरणागतः ।
 अरिः ² प्राणान् परित्यज्य रक्षितव्यः कृतात्मना ॥
 R (Bar) n. i.; R (B) 6.18, 28; R (R) 6.18, 28-9, R (G) 5.91, 9.
 Vet 19.9.
 SRHt 168.3, IS 1022.
- 18** मन्त्रिणा हि रिपवः संभाव्यास्तं विचक्षणैः ।
 ये हितं ¹ नयमुत्सृज्य ² विपरीतोपसेकिनः ³ ॥
 R (Bar) n. i., R (B)—; R (R)—; R (G)—; R (L) 6.41.15.
 P (PT 3.82; PTem 3.71, PP 3.178 and 197, Pts 3.168, PtsK 3.208 and
 230; PRE 3.70)
 IS 4708.
-
- 15** ¹ पूर्वाजतश्च [अ° ; MBh, PT, PS, PP, PFK, पूजितो हि PN; जीमूतेन PD.
² स्वमासैश्चैव (°अरिणि PD) नर्षितः PS, PD (but PP, PN, PFK as above), मन्त्रिण
 नर्षितः PT.
- 16** ¹ याचन्तं (°क SRHt) शरणागतम् R (R), R (B), SRHt.
² न हन्यमानानुशास्यार्थम् R (R), R (B), SRHt; न हन्याच्छरणं प्राप्त Vet.
³ अपि शत्रु परतप R (R), R (B), SRHt, सर्वा धर्ममनुगमन् Vet
- 17** ¹ वृषः R (R), R (B).
² अपि R (R), Vet.
- 18** ¹ हिते PT, सन्त Pts, PtsK 3.230, सन्ति PP 3.197.
² वाह्यम् PtsK.
³ सेवन्तो प्रतिलोमत. PP 3.197, Pts, PtsK 3.230.

- 19 चण्डालश्च दरिद्रश्च द्वावेव¹ सदृशौ मम² ।
चण्डालस्य न गृह्णन्ति दरिद्रो न प्रयच्छति ॥
R (Bar) n. i.; R (B) —; R (R) —; R (G) 6, 62, 40.
P (PT 2.56).
VS 31.62; SR 65.6; IS 2226.
SS (OJ) 290.
- 20 अर्थेभ्यो हि विवृद्धेभ्यः¹ संवृत्तेभ्यस्तत्स्ततः² ।
क्रियाः सर्वाः प्रवर्तन्ते³ पर्वतेभ्य इवापगाः⁴ ॥
R (Bar.) n. i.; R (B) 6.83, 32; R (R) 6.83.32; R (G) 6.62, 29.
P (PT Anh 2.57 [3.57]; Pts. 1.6; PtsK 1.6).
SkP 155.45.
IS 618.
- 21 अर्थेन हि विहीनस्य¹ पुरुषस्यालयेधसः² ।
प्रच्छिद्यते³ क्रियाः सर्वा⁴ ग्रीष्मे कुसरितो यथा ॥
R (Bar.) n. i.; R (B) 6.83, 33; R (R) 6.83, 33; R (G) 6.62, 30.
MBh (Bh) 12.8, 18, MBh (R) 12.8, 18; MBh (C) 12.218-9.
P (PT 2.53; PS 2.30, PN 1.27, PP. 2.71, Pts. 2.85, PtsK 2.92, PRE 2.32,
PM 2.30), H (H. J.) 1.133.
C (Cvr 6.10, CRr 9.13, CPs 92.26).
SR 65.7, IS 617.
- 22 यस्मार्थासु¹ तस्य मित्राणि यस्मार्थासु² तस्य बान्धवाः³ ।
यस्मार्थाः⁴ स पुर्मालोके⁵ यस्मार्थाः⁶ स च⁷ पण्डितः ॥ ८
-
- 19 ¹ द्वावेनौ PT.
² मती PT.
- 20 ¹ ऽपि हि वृद्धेभ्यः Pts: प्रवृद्धेभ्यः PT.
² संवृत्ते⁰ R (G), MBh, SKP, संवृत्तेभ्यो (संवृ⁰) वनस् PT, PtsK.
³ प्र⁰ किं स⁰ tr. Pts, PtsK, SKP.
⁴ केसरेभ्यो यथा मधु (पगाः SkP) PT, SkP.
- 21 ¹ विद्युत्स्य R (R); विद्युत्स्य R (B).
² स्तत्स्ततः (⁰ येनस. R (B) R (R), R (B).
³ अयुच्छिद्यते R (R), MBh; विच्छिद्यते R (B), PT, PRE, Cvr, CRr.
⁴ क्रियाः सर्वा विनश्यन्ति HJ.
- 22 ¹ ऽर्थसु SF, CV.
² ऽर्था H.
³ ऽर्था H.
⁴ पुमान् लोके R (G).
⁵ ऽर्थसु VC.
⁶ वु or लि H, CR (Var.).
⁷ बहुव्रतः C (Var.); जीवति C (Var.); रेगिणः C (Var.).

R (Bar.) n. i.; R (P) 6.83, 35; R (R) 6.83, 35; R (G) 6.62, 32.
 MBh (Bh) 12.8, 19; MBh (R) 12.8, 19; MBh (C) 12.219-20.
 P (PT 2.52; PS 2.31; PN 1.28; PF 1.3; PFK 1.3; PRE 2.31; PM 1.37,
 H (HJ 1.134): VCSr 12.5; Śukasaptati (ŚF 25.11-26.1; ŚF 325.34-5),
 cf. KṣB 16.442.
 C (CVr 7.15; Cur 6.8; CRr 4.12; CNP I 51; CNP II 76; CN! I 67; CNG
 238; CNT IV 50; Cn T II 10.11. Cn T III 7.21; Cn T V 1.19; CPS
 172.10), CP 1.111, 17.
 VS 2816; Su M 4.3; SR 65.6; SRK 44.7; IS 5409.
 LN (P) 167; NKy (B) 211; NM (T) 6.7; SRN (T) 49
 Cf. JSAIL 24.16 and 30.80.

23 सर्वे क्षयान्ता निचयाः See No. 6.

R (Bar) n. i.; R (B) 7.52, 11, R (R) 7.52, 11; R (G)—.
 See No. 6.

24 न सा समा यत्र न सन्ति वृद्धा

न ते वृद्धा ये न वदन्ति धर्मम्¹ ।

नासौ धर्मो यत्र न सत्यमस्ति²

न तत्सर्वं³ यच्छलेनाभूविद्धम्⁴ ॥

R (Bar) n. i.; R (B) 7.59 (3) 33; R (R) 7.59 (13) 33; R (G)—.

MBh (Bh) 5.35, 49; MBh (R) 5.34, 59, Bh (C) 5.1239

H (HJ 3.64). Cf KSS 14.106, 168.

C (CRr 8.53; CNG 330; CPS 237, 44), GP 1.115, 52; Bh Ś 568; Pr C
 2 129 v. 1., NMS 3.18 v. 1; Maskaribhāṣya on Gautama-smṛti 220.1-2;

Parāśara-dharma-saṁhitā 3.1; 35.13; Smṛticandrikā 23.14-5.

AIK 385; AP 52; ŚP 1344, SRHt 200.152; VP 9 108; IS 5483.

NM (T) 8.12.

Cf AJPh 20, 28, JSAIL 24 10; 26.12, 30 50.

Upajāti metre (Indravajrā and Upendravajrā).

25 R (Bar) ad 3.11, 26 (209 *); R (G) 3.18, 35; R (L) 3.16, 27.

Cf P (PP 3.137, PFK 3 159).

24 ¹ वृं न वे F. H, C (var.), GP, Bh Ś, Pr C, VS.

² धर्मः स नो वृं H, C (var.), CP, BhŚ, Pr C; स न tr. H, C (var.); चास्ति सव्यं
 Bh Ś, Pr C.

³ स च तद् tr. c (Var) Bhs Pr. C.

⁴ स न तद् यद्भयमभ्युपनि H; छल्लोस्युक्तम् C (var.).

- 26 R (Bar) 4.29; 40; R (R) 4.30, 73, R (R) 4.30, 73; R (G) 4.30, 12-3.
MBh (Bh) 5.36, 40; MBh (R) 5.35, 42; MBh (C) 5.1301.
Cf. P (PF 3.158).
- 27 R (Bar.) n. i.; R (B) 5.30, 37 and 5.2, 39; R (R) 5.30, 37-8 and 5.2, 39;
R (G) 5.9, 37.
Cf. P (PT 3.83; PTem 3.72; PP 3.179; PtsK 3.209; PRE 3.71).
- 28 R (Bar.) n. i.; R (B) 6.6, 6; R (R) 6.6, 6.
Cf. P (PT 3.36; PTem 3.28; PS 3.17; PN 3.16; PRE 3.25), KSS 10.62,
16.

ŠAṆKARA'S UPADeśASĀHASRĪ: ITS PRESENT FORM*

By

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The main works of Šaṅkara (700-750 A.D.)¹ consist of commentaries on the *Brahmasūtra*, the principal *Upaniṣads*, and the *Bhagavadgītā*.² In addition to these commentaries, there are the *Upadeśasāhasrī*, the *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi*,³ and many other small but independent works which are ascribed to Šaṅkara. His authorship of these minor writings is very doubtful. However, the *Upadeśasāhasrī* which I am going to take up for examination here, is genuine and I have already attempted to establish its authenticity elsewhere.⁴ In my opinion it occupies an important position in the history of the *Advaita* doctrine⁵.

As far as I know, 14 editions of the *Upadeśasāhasrī* have so far been published and there exist more than 70 manuscripts of the text, complete and incomplete, in and outside of India. Among these materials, I have had access to 13 printed editions and have collated 42 manuscripts. They do not show

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¹ This date is given by H. Nakamura in his *Shōki no Vedānta Tetsugaku* (Tokyo, 1950), pp. 64-121. Cf. D.H.H. Ingalls, 'Šaṅkara's Arguments against Buddhists,' *Philosophy East and West*, vol. 3 (1954), no. 4, p. 292, n. 2.

² As for the authenticity of the *Bhagavadgītābhāṣya*, see B. Faddegon, *Śaṅkara's Gītābhāṣya, toegelicht en beoordeeld* (Amsterdam, 1906), pp. 63-71 and pp. 95-98; W. R. Antarkar, 'Śrī Śaṅkarācārya's Authorship of the *Gītābhāṣya*,' *Oriental Thought*, vol. VI (1962), no. 2, pp. 1-26; My article 'The Authenticity of the *Bhagavadgītābhāṣya* Ascribed to Šaṅkara,' *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens*, IX (1965), pp. pp. 155-197.

³ It is impossible to regard the *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi* as authentic since it uses some technical terms foreign to Šaṅkara, for example, the use of the term *ananda* as the nature of *brahman-ātman* (105, 106, 107, etc.) and of *anirvacanīyaruṇa* as a qualification of *avidyā* (109). Cf. D. H. H. Ingalls, 'The Study of Śaṅkarācārya,' *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. XXXIII (1952), p. 7.

⁴ My article, 'The Authenticity of the *Upadeśasāhasrī* Ascribed to Šaṅkara,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 85 (1965) no. 2, pp. 178-196.

⁵ M. Hiriyanna calls the *Upadeśasāhasrī*, Sureśvara's *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* and Sarva-jñātman's *Samkṣepasāhita* a trilogy, which constitute an important stage in the development of the *Advaita* doctrine (*The Naiṣkarmyasiddhi of Sureśvarācārya with the Candrikā of Jñānottama*. Bombay Sanskrit and Prākṛit Series No. xxxvii, 1925, p. xxx).

many differences of reading but they reveal a remarkable disagreement in structure.

The 9 printed editions⁶ consist of two parts, prose (*Gadyabandha*) and metrical (*Padyabandha*), and the prose part constitutes about one third of the whole text. But 3 printed editions have only the prose part and 1 printed edition contains only the metrical part.⁷ Such a disagreement in structure is also seen in manuscripts and commentaries. It is a notable fact that among four commentators, Ānandajñāna and Rāmatīrtha comment on both of the two parts, clearly declaring that the (*Upadeśasāhasrī*) comprises the two parts.⁸ But Bodhanidhi is totally silent about the prose part¹⁰ and another commentator, Akhaṇḍadhāman, does not refer to the metrical part at all¹¹

Furthermore, the prose part comes first and the metrical part comes second in all the printed editions and some manuscripts which contain the two parts.¹²

* (1) *Śrī-Saṅkarācārya's Miscellaneous Works*, vol. III (Government Oriental Library Series, Bibliotheca Sanskrita No. 21 Mysore, 1899), (2) *Śaṅkārācāryakṛta-Upadeśasāhasrī* (Poona, 1911), (3) *Śrī Saṅkarācārya's Upadeśha-Sāhasrī with the Gloss Padayojanikā by Śrī Rāmatīrtha* (Bombay, 1917), (4) *Upadeśasāhasrī by Bhagwat Pādācārya with the Commentary Padayojanikā by Śrīmad Rāmatīrtha* (Bombay, 1930), (5) *A Thousand Teachings in Two Parts, Prose and Poetry, of Śrī Saṅkarācārya*, edited and translated by Swāmi Jagadānanda (Madras, 1949), (6) *Minor Works of Śrī Saṅkarācārya* (Poona Oriental Series No. 8. Poona, 1952), (7) *Prakṛtanagala, Samputa I* (Holenarasipuram, 1949), (8) *Upadeśasāhasrī, Hindi Anuvāda Sahit* (Benares, 1954), and (9) *Śrī-Saṅkaragranthāvali*, vol. 10 (Śrīrangam, no date), pp. 101-229 Besides these there is another edition in *The Pandit*, vols. 3-5 (1868-1870) which has not been accessible to me.

⁷ (1) Only the prose part is contained in (a) *Śrī-Saṅkarācāryaṇām aṣṭadaśaśatno...* (Ahmedabad, 1919), pp. 669-747, (b) *Vecāntasiddhāntamatamārtanḍa* (Muttra, 1927) and (c) *Upadeśasāhasrī* (Ahmedabad, 1931); (2) Only the metrical part is contained in: *Śrīmac-Chaṅkarācāryavivṛitī-Upadeśasāhasrī, Rāmatīrthavivṛitayā Padayojanikākāhyayā vyākhyayā samvīṛṭā* (Bombay, 1886).

⁸ For example, (1) Both of the two parts are contained in. Adyar Library Manuscript No. PM 646, Asiatic Society (Calcutta) Manuscript No. 8635, and India Office Library (London) Manuscript Nos. 2222b and 256b; (2) Only the prose part is contained in Asiatic Society (Calcutta) Manuscript Nos. 626 and 10929, Sarasvatī Bhavana (Benares) Manuscript Nos. 27612 and 26997, (3) Only the metrical part is contained in Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona) Manuscript No. 560/1886-92, Government Oriental Manuscript Library (Madras) Manuscript Nos. R 4149 (b) and R 11795, Sarasvatī Bhavana (Benares) Manuscript Nos. 27708, 28685 and 27574.

⁹ (1) Ānandajñāna, *Upadeśasāhasrīvivṛitī* (unpublished) and (2) Rāmatīrtha, *Padayojanikā* (published. See footnote 5). Cf. footnotes 14 and 15.

¹⁰ Bodhanidhi, *Upadeśagranthavivarana* (alias *Upadeśaprakaraṇavivarana, Upadeśasāhasragranthavivarana*) (unpublished)

¹¹ Akhaṇḍadhāman, *Gūḍhārthadīpikā* (unpublished)

¹² The printed editions shown in footnotes 5 and manuscripts such as India Office Library (London) Manuscript No. 2222b.

In some other manuscripts, however, the order of the two parts is just the reverse.¹³ In this respect the two commentators also sharply contradict each other. Ānandajñāna, who was active in the middle of the 13th century,¹⁴ commenting first on the metrical part, evidently says at the opening of his commentary on the prose part that, having previously concluded the metrical part, Bhāṣyakāra is introducing the prose part.¹⁵ On the other hand, Rāmātirtha, who lived in the 17th century,¹⁶ sets forth at the opening of both the prose and the metrical parts that Bhāṣyakāra commences the prose part first and then the metrical part.¹⁷

Such contradictory information about the text leads us to speculate on the original form of the text or at least on reasons why the above mentioned disagreement is seen among the materials. In order to get some answer to this problem I would like to examine the text more closely.

The metrical part of the text consists of 19 *prakaraṇas* and is composed in three different metres, mostly in *śloka*.¹⁸ From an investigation of the metrical part the following facts may be pointed out:

- (1) Each *prakaraṇa* is complete in its contents and has no close connection with any other.
- (2) Benedictory stanzas appear at the opening of the first *prakaraṇa* and at the end of final *prakaraṇa*. Nevertheless, the 17th and the 18th *prakaraṇas* also open and end with benedictory stanzas.¹⁹

¹³ For example, Asiatic Society (Calcutta) Manuscript No. 8635, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Manuscript No. 258 A+B/1892-95, and India Office Library (London) Manuscript No. 2566.

¹⁴ S. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. II (Cambridge, 1952), p. 192.

¹⁵ . . . *padyaḡadyātṃkā hiyam Upadeśasāhasrī, tatra padyabhāgam prāḡ uktavāḡ paripāḡya parisaṃāḡya gadyabhāgam avatārayan Bhagavān Bhāṣyakāraḡ* . . . , India Office Library (London) Manuscript No. 2554,

¹⁶ S. Dasgupta, *op cit*, p. 52.

¹⁷ The opening of the prose part of the *Padayojanikā* reads: *Bhagavān Bhāṣyakāraḡ . . . Upadeśasāhasriṃ gadyapadyavibhāḡgagramtharacanyā prakāḡkurvan ādau gadyabandham ārabhamānuh* The opening of its metrical part reads: *tad evaḡ sarvopaniṣadarthasārasaḡ-grahaḡ gadyabandhaprabandhena samkṣepato yuktyopadiṣya, punar apy uktam evārihajātaḡ padyabandhaprabandhena sopaskāraḡ vistarenopadeṣukāmo Bhagavān Bhagavān Bhāṣyakāraḡ*

¹⁸ The 8th, 10th, and 19th *prakaraṇas*, are entirely composed in the *vaṃśastha* metre, which is also used in stanzas 41-50 of the 14th *prakaraṇa*, in stanza 54 of the 15th *prakaraṇa*, and in stanzas 68-74 of the 16th *prakaraṇa*. Stanza 82 of the 17th *prakaraṇa* is composed in the *sragdharā* metre. The rest of the metrical part is written in *śloka*.

¹⁹ Several manuscripts, such as Adyar Library Manuscript Nos. 72691 and 75510, Asiatic Society (Calcutta) Manuscript No. 8635, Government Oriental Manuscript Library (Madras) Manuscript Nos. 4565, R 182, R 9979, R 16000, and R 15470, and Sarasvatī Bhavana (Benares) Manuscript No. 27708, all lack stanzas 230-233 of the 18th *prakaraṇa*, of

- (3) The 19 *prakaraṇas* are arranged not with respect to contents but according to the number of stanzas except in the case of the first and the last *prakaraṇas*. Except for those two each *prakaraṇa* has more stanzas than the one preceding it.²⁰
- (4) Every *prakaraṇa* except the 18th is mechanically named after the first one or two words of the first *pāda* of its first stanza or in some cases appears in variant readings of the title to have been so named.²¹
- The contents are not an important factor in giving the title.

These facts make it difficult to assume that the metrical part was all composed at one time. It seems to me that they can be best explained by supposing that each *prakaraṇa* was originally composed independently and at a different time by Śāṅkara and was edited later by a follower or followers or perhaps even by Śāṅkara himself, though this last possibility seems less likely than the first.²²

As for the prose part of the *Upadēśasāhasrī*, it consists of 3 *prakaraṇas*. Examination of it reveals the following points:

- (a) The prose part, as in many other texts, opens with the word *atha* which is a particle indicating the commencement of a work, and, as in *Upaniṣads*²³ ends with a repetition of the last word: *vistaraśaḥ samikṣitavyāni samikṣitavyāni*.

which stanza 233 is the benedictory stanza. All these manuscripts seem to be based upon Bodhanidhi's commentary, which does not comment on these 4 stanzas. It is, however, unlikely that these four stanzas are later interpolations, since stanzas 231 and 232 are quoted in Sureśvara's *Nāṣkarmyasiddhi*, IV, 65 and 66 respectively.

²⁰ This reminds us of the way in which some Buddhist scriptures such as the *Thera-* and *Theri-gāthā* and the *Jātaka* were compiled.

²¹ If all the variant readings of the titles of the 19 *prakaraṇas* in the printed editions and the manuscripts that I have so far inspected are taken into consideration, the titles may be classified in the following four groups: (1) Titles named after the first one or two words without any variant readings—the 7th, 14th, and 16th *prakaraṇas*, (2) Titles, the variant readings of which are all in conformity with the above principle (for example, "*prakāśa-*" and "*prakāśastha-*" *prakaraṇa* which are different readings of the title of the 12th *prakaraṇa* beginning with the word "*prakāśastham*")—the 9th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 15th *prakaraṇas* (3) Titles, all the variant readings of which do not conform to the above principle (for example, the reading "*mūrtāśāṅka-*" *prakaraṇa* as the title of the 5th *prakaraṇa* is in conformity with the principle while another reading "*buddhyaparādha-*" *prakaraṇa* of the same is not so)—the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 10th, 17th and 19th *prakaraṇas* (the 19th *prakaraṇa* is included here though a reading of its title is based on the 3rd and 4th words instead of the first one or two words), and (4) A title which has no variant readings and violates the above rule—the 18th *prakaraṇa*.

²² Because of such a mechanical way of compiling the *prakaraṇas* and of giving the title.

²³ For example, (1) The *Chāndogya Up.* ends with: *na ca punar āvartate, na ca punar āvartate*, (2) The *Aitareya Up.* *amṛtaḥ samabhavat samabhavat*, (3) The *Kauṣītaki Up.*: *ya evaṃ veda, ya evaṃ veda*, (4) The *Kena Up.* *jyeye pratītiṣṭhati pratītiṣṭhati*, and (5) The *Śvetāśvatara Up.* *prakāśante mahāmānāḥ, prakāśante mahāmānāḥ*:

- (b) The prose part is written with the specific purpose of answering a very practical and pedagogical problem, that is, how a teacher should teach the knowledge of *ātman* to a pupil.²⁴ In the metrical part, however, many basic problems of *Advaita* are simply expounded without any special purpose.
- (c) The three *prakaraṇas* of the prose part can, in content, be regarded as illustrating respectively the stage of hearing (*śravaṇa*), the stage of thinking (*manana*) and the stage of meditation (*nidhīdhyāsana*),²⁵ which constitute the three *Vedāntic* stages to attainment of final release (*mokṣa*).
- (d) The entire stanza 13 of the 15th *prakaraṇa* of the metrical part is quoted in the prose part.²⁶

From the above points, it is evident that the three *prakaraṇas* of the prose part are very closely related to one another and constitute a whole which is complete both in content and in form. It is very likely that the three *prakaraṇas* of the prose part were written at one time after the composition of at least the 15th *prakaraṇa* of the metrical part and that the three *prakaraṇas* originally constituted a work independent from the metrical part. The prose part appears to be a handy 'Guide' for teachers while the metrical part is, as it were, a 'Text Book' for students.

Today there is no decisive evidence with which to determine when and by whom all the *prakaraṇas* were combined into one work. The oldest extant text with reference to the *Upadeśasāhasrī* is the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* of Sureśvara, one of Śaṅkara's direct disciples. In its last chapter which comprises 78 stanzas, Sureśvara quotes 17 stanzas and 2 half stanzas from the 6th, 15th, 17th, and 18th *prakaraṇas* of the metrical part of the *Upadeśasāhasrī*.²⁷ But he does not give the title of the source of those quotations. It is, therefore, not clear whether or not the *Upadeśasāhasrī* had been compiled by the time when he composed the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*.

The second oldest text that is concerned with the *Upadeśasāhasrī* is the *Gītābhāṣya* of Bhāskara (750-800 A.D.).²⁸ Here Bhāskara quotes stanza 222 of the 18th *prakaraṇa* of the *Upadeśasāhasrī* and calls the source of quotation

²⁴ Cf. the opening of the prose part which reads: *atha mokṣasādhanaopadeśaviddhiṃ vyākhyāsyāmo mumukṣūnāṃ śraddadhānānāṃ arthināṃ arthāya*

²⁵ Cf. Paul Hacker, *Upadeśasāhasrī von Meister Śaṅkara* (Religions-geschichtliche Texte Heft 2. Bonn, 1949), pp. 8-9.

²⁶ Section 35 of the first *prakaraṇa*

²⁷ Cf. my article, 'The Authenticity of the *Upadeśasāhasrī*,' *op cit*, pp. 188-190.

²⁸ This date is given by H. Nakamura *op. cit.*, pp. 88-90.

'*Upadēsa Grantha*'²⁹ The word '*Grantha*' does not seem to be a part of the title of his source, since the two words are not used as a compound. They may, therefore, mean 'The text entitled *Upadēsa*.' As far as I have investigated the matter, the 18th *prakaraṇa* is styled '*Tattvamasiprakaraṇa*' in all the materials without exception³⁰ and is never called '*Upadēsa*.' It is, therefore, very probable that by the designation '*Upadēsa*' Bhāskara means the text which is today called '*Upadēśasāhasrī*' or at least its metrical part, the work of compiling at least its metrical part must have already been completed by the time of Bhāskara.

Of all the materials that have been available to me, Ānandajñāna's commentary is the oldest that calls the text '*Upadēśasāhasrī*,'³¹ describing it as consisting of the two parts. The title '*Upadēśasāhasrī*' suggests that the text consists of a thousand stanzas. The metrical part of the *Upadēśasāhasrī* comprises a total of only 675 stanzas.³² But if 32 syllables can be counted as 1 stanza (*śloka*), the prose part consists of 376 stanzas.³³ The text can, therefore, be regarded as comprising a total of 1,051 stanzas. It is, however, not possible to conclude from the above facts that Ānandajñāna himself combined the prose part with the metrical part and gave the combination the title '*Upadēśasāhasrī*,' since the title '*Upadēsa*' used by Bhāskara may be an abridged form of the title '*Upadēśasāhasrī*' and the title '*Upadēsa*' itself does not imply exclusion of the prose part.

As for the order of the two parts, it is more natural and reasonable to place the metrical part first as in Ānandajñāna's commentary than to place the prose part first as in Rāmātīrtha's commentary, since the prose part contains a quotation from the metrical part. But Ānandajñāna's commentary has not yet been published. The only published commentary is Rāmātīrtha's *Padayojanikā*. At present it appears to be customary to place the prose part first as does Rāmātīrtha.

²⁹ Sarasvatī Bhavana (Benares) Manuscript No. 2517, folio 37. Cf. my articles, 'The Authenticity of the *Upadēśasāhasrī*,' *op. cit.* pp. 190-191 and 'The Authenticity of the *Bhagavadgītābhāṣya*,' *op. cit.* p. 189.

³⁰ See footnote 21.

³¹ See footnote 14. Jñānottama's *Candrikā*, which is a commentary on Sureśvara's *Naṣṭakarmyasiddhi*, is the second oldest source that calls the text '*Upadēśasāhasrī*' provided Jñānottama lived in 1300 A.D. as Hrinnyana says (*The Naṣṭakarmyasiddhi of Sureśvarācārya*, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxii-xxxvi). Vidyāranya, who was active in the 14th century, in his *Pañcadasi* (VJII, 12), refers to the text under the name of '*Sahasrī*,' which is identified with the *Upadēśasāhasrī* by its commentator, Rāmakṛṣṇa. The title '*Sṛisahasrī*' is used by Akhaṇḍadhāman in his *Gūḍhātthadīpikā*, the date of which is unknown. The longest title of the text is '*Sakalavedopaniṣatsāropanadēśasāhasrī*' appearing in colophons of manuscripts and printed editions of the text.

³² In some manuscripts, the text consists of 671 stanzas. See footnote 18.

³³ Cf. Paul Hacker, *Upadēśasāhasrī*, *op. cit.* p. 86, n. 2.

JÑĀNA, PRAJÑĀ, PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ

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Generally speaking, knowledge refers to the analysis of an object, and such knowledge we can call objective knowledge. This type of knowledge can be accumulated. It cannot, however, be termed Buddhist knowledge as far as it concerns objective analysis.

Even in our daily life we sometimes make a distinction between scientific knowledge and religious knowledge (wisdom). If one possesses scientific knowledge, it does not mean that he has wisdom. We are aware of our respect for wisdom more than for objective, scientific knowledge. Buddhism prefers wisdom based on religious intuition more than accumulated scientific knowledge.

Wisdom in the Buddhist sense is divided into two concepts: transcendental knowledge (*ñāna*) and the knowledge-to exercised *paññā*. The study of these two concepts is an intricate and intriguing problem in the history of Buddhism. Almost all scholars today use these terms in the same meaning as intuition or insight, etc. According to their views, both concepts denote mysterious faculties, just as intuition is a transcendental knowledge. Without understanding the slightly different meanings of these concepts, however, the interpretation of intuition will easily give birth to confusion among their views.

It appears, therefore, that the key to understanding the true meaning of intuition is to define these concepts in their historically different periods and theoretically varied meaning. In the history of Buddhist thought the following periods can be taken into consideration. The Early (Nikāya) Buddhism (ca. 431–271 B.C.), Abhidharma (ca. 271 B.C.–1 A.D.) and the Early Mahāyāna Buddhism (ca. 100 A.D.).

By taking particularly the development of the Abhidharma theories into consideration, we shall find a more deeply underlying relation between the two concepts. Concerning the importance of the Abhidharmic background, somewhat neglected in the research field, with respect to the Buddhist intuition, little need be said here.

The Early Buddhism

Ñāna and *paññā* are not distinctively differentiated from each other. *Ñāna* means just knowledge “in either a next to hand or a lofty sense.” On the other hand, *paññā*, as Mrs. Rhys Davids pointed out, is not a mere intellectual “convulsion” of thought. It represents, “coming-to-know” and “coming-to-

be". *Paññā* is not a dialectic or desultory referie, but an exercise of thought on matter of practice. The Rhys Davids's distinction between both concepts appears rather to rest upon the Abhidharmic interpretation than upon the Nikāya view. The distinction is not really found in the Nikāyas. However, her detailed investigation of *paññā* is suggestive enough to lead to further development of Abhidharma study. *Paññā* is not mere insight or intuition, but conduct accompanied by insight; it is a term of practical import.¹

Based upon the implication of *paññā* in the Nikāya we shall especially examine the Abhidharma interpretation in connection with the Nikāya.

The Abhidharma Philosophy

In this Abhidharma period we may find a multi-polar distinction between *ñāna* and *paññā*. Here I would like to confine my discussion of the schools to only two as follows.

The Theravāda School

Both concepts, *paññā* and *ñāna*, are derived from the same root *jñā*, 'to know'. The prefix *pa* indicates 'forward', 'forth', 'fore', and it is a dynamic particle. This particle implies in itself the dynamic practicality. In relation to *vijñāna* (consciousness) Rhys Davide refers to this dynamic connotation by saying it means 'coming-to-be'.

In early Buddhism, however, this distinction was not so clear, as sometimes both terms were used as synonymous. Such lack of clarity stimulated the Abhidharma schools to give specific definitions to these terms.

The dynamic implication of *paññā* can evidently be found in the Mahāvedalla Sutta (M 43), where *paññā* is considered as the knowledge to be practised (*bhāvetabbā*). *Paññā* does not merely mean the final goal to be reached.

This implication came to be clarified in the Abhidharma period. In Pāli Abhidharma, *paññā* came to mean the subject's knowing (*pañāna*). In contrast, *ñāna* came to mean the object to be known (*ñāta*). Thus, *ñāna* is the object, while *paññā* belongs to the subject. The endeavour to obtain *ñāna* presupposes *paññā*. In other words, *paññā* has a broader sense than *ñāna*. This latter understanding will become clearer in the Sarvāstivāda school.

In the Pāli text, *Atthasālinī* (ca. the fifth cent. A.D.) designates *ñāna* as product or result, and *paññā* as the way to gain a product. The *Atthasālinā*, 3,29;3,30,² discusses the problem of the wholesome (*kusala*), referring to both *ñāna* and *paññā*. This passage discusses at first about three meanings of *kusala*.

¹ C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *The Birth of Indian Psychology and its Development in Buddhism*. London: Luzac and Co., 1936, p. 265.

² Buddhaghosa, *Atthasālinī* ed. by P. V. Bapat, Bhandarkar Oriental Series, No. 3, Poona, 1942.

According to this passage the wholesome (*kusala*) has three meanings: the non-ill (*ārogya*), non-sinful (*nāvajja*) and the skilfully completed (*kosalla-sambhūta*).

Ñāna is called the wholesome because it includes all three meanings, while *Paññā* is also called the wholesome because it means 'the skilfully completed'. This term denotes the way to the final goal or the result to be attained. On the other hand, non-ill and non-sinful, are merely attributes of *ñāna* to be attained by means of one's own practice. When the way is 'skilfully completed', then, these attributes spontaneously will arise. They are the products of the practical way.

In terms of the practicality of *Paññā* we have another passage in the same text. "*paññā* is the superior, fundamental and foregoer." (Asl., 3.44.). Practice denotes a forward movement, which is expressed in its synonymous use with *pajānana* '(to know)'. This distinction between the static and dynamic becomes more lucid during the commentarial period.

According to the commentary on Vibhanga, Sammohavinodanī, *paññā* operates by virtue of function (*kicca*) and object (*ārammana*) while *ñāna* has for its object *dhmma*³. It means that in order to operate *paññā* must first have action on the subjective side and the object on the objective side. With the object alone, *paññā* cannot work at all as it requires action (*kicca*) on the subjective side. *Ñāna* consists in the object to be known and practised by *paññā*. Thus, *ñāna* is considered as the static product and ideal to be obtained while *paññā* is subjective, dynamic and functional.

The commentator Buddhaghosa is aware of this distinction as he compared *paññā* with *saññā* (notion) and *viññāṇa* (consciousness). In his view, *saññā* refers to the perception of a colourful object, while *viññāṇa* means the perception of a multitude of appearances. These two terms concern the analytical perception of the object. On the other hand, *paññā* means to distinctively know (*pajānana*) the religious significance of the object. Buddhaghosa explained also in the *Atthasālinī* in the following manner:

Paññā has two meanings; to make known or to indicate (*paññāpana*) and to know the object from the viewpoint of impermanency, suffering and non-ego.⁴

Referring to this explanation, Buddhaghosa gave further two etymological interpretations of *paññā*: *paññāpana* (to make known) and *pakāreṇa jānāti* (to know from the viewpoint of impermanency, suffering and non-ego). These two types of meanings are related to each other and refer to the same fact, namely, that by virtue of *paññā* the nature of existing things will be made clearly known.

³ *Sammohavinodanī*, PTS, p. 416.

⁴ *Atthasālinī*, p. 100.

This understanding of *paññā* as practicality, verified for us by the etymological significance of the term, may be regarded as the philosophical principle underlying the essence of human existence.

The essence of human existence also will be clearly made known by virtue of *paññā* as it is exemplified in one of the Pāli treatises, *i.e.*, Puggalapaññatti. The title of this treatise literally represents 'the indication of types of human existence'. However, indication (*paññatti*) is etymologically derived from the root *jā* (to know) and *paññatti* means 'to make known' or 'to indicate' (*ñāpana*). This explanation exactly corresponds to the etymological significance of *paññā* as pointed out above. This treatise analyses in fact the variety of types of human existences from the religious standpoint in compliance with their state of meditation. It is really the indication of different types of people in accordance with their stage of spiritual knowledge of *paññā*. Indication (*paññatti*) concerns the different religious practices or experiences. Thus, the Pāli treatise Puggalapaññatti may be regarded as the indication of different types of human existence based upon their own spiritual knowledge to be exercised. This basic notion has already been referred to since the time of Early Buddhism, in which *paññā* implied the functional knowledge to be exercised. This title of Puggalapaññatti is doubtless viewed in the way of early Buddhist time, depending upon the degree of spiritual development of the practitioners.

So far as *paññatti* refers to 'making known one's own character to others', Puggalapaññatti represents itself the treatise in which persons are variegated and classified in compliance with their own nature of making themselves known to others. Hence, the criterion of classification in this text is nothing but *paññā* itself.

This notion of *paññā* further brings up another question of the relationship between *paññā* and *ñāna*. In terms of spiritual exercise, the important thing is not merely the ideal or result, but rather the way to approach the ideal. In this respect, *ñāna* designated as only a static consequence, will be of significance only when it is considered in relation to the functional *paññā*. The ideal must be achieved by the practical: *ñāna* must be achieved by *paññā*. *Ñāna* is assimilated in *paññā*. In this context, Buddhaghosa refers to the assimilation of *ñāna* by *paññā* in the Visuddhimagga.⁶ He gave *paññā* three categories: basis (*bhūmi*), faculty (*indriya*) and essence (*sāra*). *Ñāṇa* is here subject to the category of essence. The ideal, namely, *ñāna*, is included in the practical knowledge (*paññā*) or the knowledge to be exercised. Whether the achievement of the ideal is realized or not rests on the ability of the practitioner. *Ñāna* can be obtained only by *paññā* which is to be cultivated by human beings.

⁶ Buddhaghosa, *Visuddhimagga*, p. 443. PTS

This distinction between the two concepts is also found in the Visuddhimagga, which is systematized on the basis of this distinction. Referring to the practice of *nāna* the Visuddhimagga analyses *nāna* into the following three classifications: stage of consciousness (*bhūmi*), basis (*mūla*) and actual (*sarīra*). These three are considered fundamental conditions for the practice of *paññā*.

1. Stage of consciousness (*bhūmi*) includes *khandha*, *āyatana*, *dhātu*, *indriya*, *sacca*, *pañiccasamuppāda*, etc. All these concepts denote the fundamental theories of Buddhism concerning human beings, truth, dependent origination respectively. A commentator Dhammapāla, commenting on the term '*bhūmi*', refers to these different types of theories, which are practised in conformity with the different stages of consciousness, i.e., the theory of *khandha* (the five aggregates) is the practice for those people ignorant of human existence (*rūpa*), that of *āyatana* (sphere) for those people ignorant of material (*rūparūpa*) and that of *dhātu* (realm) for those ignorant of both the human existence and the material. In this manner the stage of consciousness depends upon the different types of human beings.⁶ This state is explained by Dhammapāla as a functional stage (*pavattitthāna*).⁷ It is not a static object, but a dynamic process of human consciousness to be cultivated. This functional stage represents the nature of *paññā* as described above. Therefore this stage means one of the three aspects of *paññā*.

2. Basis (*mūla*) means a fundamental ground upon which *nibbāna* will be attained. Both Dhammapāla and Buddhaghosa gave it a synonym *patitthāna*, meaning a fundamental basis (Dhammapāla, *Paramatthamañjūsā* III p. 19). Basis includes precept (*sīla*) and mind (*citta*). It means that both precept and mind or concentration are the fundamental elements for the practice of *paññā*. In other words, *paññā* is considered as one of the three fundamentals to be practised for the attainment of the final goal, namely, the enlightenment.

3. Actual (*sarīra*) means the quality which anything possesses of having realized possibilities. The dynamic process of consciousness (*paññā*) is used in reference to a state of possibility rather than actuality (*surīra*). In the Visuddhimagga, therefore, actual (*sarīra*) includes the five kinds of *nāna*. The five are:

- (a) Beauty of right theory (*ditthivisuddhi*)
- (b) Complete purification in consequence of the removal of doubt (*kaṅkhāvitaraṇavisuddhi*).
- (c) Actual knowledge concerning the right and the wrong road (*maggaṃgañānadassana*)
- (d) Actual knowledge of the practice (*puṭipadāñānadassana-visuddhi*)

* Dhammapāla, *Paramatthamañjūsā* Siamese Edition, Vol. III, p. 19.

⁷ "*bhūmi* salakkhamāduḍḍaḥanavasena pavattitthānabhāvato" (Ibid., p. 18).

e. Actual knowledge (*ñānadassanavissuddhi*).

It is noticeable that the term *sarīra*, denoting *ñāna*, is used as a consequence or a product of the practical knowledge (*paññā*). *Ñāna* is a quality, to which no temporal, possible position can be assigned. It is the absolute goal to be attained by practical knowledge.

This *ñāna* as a consequence is, according to Dhammapāla, termed 'quality' (*avayava*) or 'multitude' (*saṃudāya*), while *paññā* (the practical knowledge) is designated as a practice to be cultivated (*paribrahetaḥ*) or as a practice continuously functioned (*santānavasena pavattamāna*).⁸

Regarding this distinction we have another definition in the commentaries. The Pāli commentators used to give definitions to each psychic function from the four aspects⁹

1. Characteristic (*lakkhana*) is to penetrate into the true nature of state.
2. Function (*rasa*) is to dispel the darkness of bewilderment which covers the true nature of states.
3. Manifestation (*paccupaṭṭhāna*) is not to be bewildered.
4. Proximate cause (*padaṭṭhāna*) means concentration, because of the statement: " A brother, who is concentrated. Oh Brethren, knows a thing as it really is. " (S v 414)

Referring to *ñāna* the Visuddhimagga explains as follows " *Ñāna* means insight-knowledge (*vipassanā-ñāna*). It is said that in him who weighs, scrutinizes the states of matter and of non-matter there arises *ñāna* of unfaltering speed, sharp, heroic, exceeding clear like Indra's discharged thunderbolt " ¹⁰

The Atthasālinī¹¹ presents a slightly different definition. *Paññā* has illuminating (*obhāsana*) and understanding (*pañānana*) as characteristic (*lakkhaṇa*).

Regarding 'illuminating' the Elder's saying is expanded .

" Hence, the Elder has said : Just as when a man, your majesty, introduces an oil-lamp into a dark house, the lamp so introduced disperses the darkness, produces light, sheds lustre, makes objects visible, so, your majesty, *paññā* as it arises dispels the darkness of ignorance, produces the light of understanding (*vijjā*), sheds the lustre of *ñāna*, makes plain the Ariyan Facts. Thus, your majesty, *paññā* has illuminating as its characteristic. "

* " *śarīram paribrahetaḥbato imissā hi paññāya santānavasena pavattamānāya pādapānī-sīlaṭṭhāniyā dīpṭhivissuddhi-ādikā imā pañca visuddhiyo avayavena saṃudāyupolakkhananayena sa'ranti veditabbā,* " (Ibid., p. 19)

* Visuddhimagga. p. 438.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 635.

¹¹ Atthasālinī. p. 101.

In terms of 'understanding' (*paññāna*) the Elder further explains thus:

"And this was said by the Dhammasenāpati (Sāriputta): 'It knows; thus, brother, it is in consequence called *paññā*. And what does it know? This is ill,' and so on. Thus it should be expanded. And thus knowing should be regarded as the characteristic of *paññā*."

This explanation includes in itself the three aspects of *paññā* designated in the Visuddhimagga: its characteristic is 'illuminating', its function is to disperse the darkness, and its manifestation is to shed the lustre of *ñāna* or to produce the light of understanding (*vijjā*). In this passage, we can notice that *ñāna* is considered analogous to something to be shed or to be produced. Namely, *ñāna* is considered as a consequence of *paññā*, which is to produce the former.

The practicability of *paññā* is illustrated by Buddhaghosa in a skillful simile which refers to the distinction between *paññā* and *viññāna*. Buddhaghosa applies a simile to this distinction in his Visuddhimagga as follows:

"Because it seizes just the appearance of an object as blue-green and so forth, *saññā* (perception) is like the seeing of the coins by the undiscerning child. Because it seizes the appearance of the object as blue-green and so forth, and also leads to penetration of the characteristics, *viññāna* (consciousness) is like the seeing of the coins by the peasant. Because it seizes the appearance of the object as blue-green and so forth, leads to the manifestation of the Path (*maggapā tubhāva*), *paññā* (apprehension) is like the seeing of the coins by the banker. Therefore, this *paññā* is to be understood as the knowing in various ways as distinct from perceiving and being conscious."¹²

Thus, *paññā* is different from *viññāna* not only in its epistemological approach, but also in its practical sense. The former, going beyond the realm of perception, leads one to the manifestation of the Path to Enlightenment.

Circumstantial evidences point out that the distinction between *paññā* and *ñāna* in the Early Buddhism probably had a long existence underground, before, in the Theravāda school, it rose, as *paññā* 'the subject's knowing' and *ñāna* 'the object to be known to the surface'. Probably both meanings were in the Abhidharma period fully developed.

The Sarvāstivāda School

The Early Buddhism and the Theravāda school, as mentioned above, regard *ñāna* as a consequence and *paññā* as a means. This distinction is found also in the Sarvāstivāda school.

¹² Visuddhimagga, p. 437; Pe Maung Ton, *The Path of Purify* London PTS, 1931, pt III p. 506-5-07.

According to the Abhidharmakośa and its commentary, Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā by Haribhadra these two concepts are dealt with in the following manners.

1. *Jñāna and Prajñā as related to Psychology*

From the psychological viewpoint, *prajñā* (apprehension) is subject to the common stage of consciousness (*mahābhūmi*). Apprehension (*prajñā*) in this sense is only treated as a psychic factor. Therefore, this concept is even used synonymously with a Sanskrit *mati* (view) as a psychic factor.

It is to be noted that even in this sense *prajñā* does not lose its spiritual meaning of apprehension to be exercised. This concept here means 'to investigate' (*pravicaya*) the true nature of a thing investigation concerns the psychological function of analyzing the realities (*dharma*), which is a means leading to the final goal of *nirvāṇa*.

Hence, this analytical apprehension is not purely scientific knowledge but rather a practical means to attain *nirvāṇa* and as such participates in religious experience. In other words, *prajñā* is immanent and refers to the way to be cultivated, while *jñāna* is transcendental and a consequence or a result to be attained.

2. *Jñāna and Prajñā from the Viewpoint of Value*

The Abhidharmakośa deals with both concepts in the two chapters, Pudgalanirdeśaḥ and Jñānanirdeśaḥ. The former chapter deals with *prajñā* from the standpoint of psychology, the latter from the standpoint of practice.

According to the Jñānanirdeśa, the realization of *prajñā* consists of four kinds of apprehension; hearing (*śrutamayī*), thinking (*cintamayī*), exercise (*bhāvanāmayī*) and inherence (*utpāda*). These apprehensions (*prajñā*) are termed 'defilement apprehension' (*sāśrava prajñā*), which observes the created and the noncreated. These are in contrast to 'non-defilement apprehension' (*anāśrava prajñā*), which observes the truth of the three worlds and the four noble truths.

It is noticeable that three of them are repeatedly explained in the Abhidharmakośa, while 'inherence apprehension' is only found once in the first chapter of the Abhidharmakośa. Moreover, there is no mention of any form of 'inherence apprehension' by the commentator Yaśomitra. 'Inherence' is not mentioned in the Pāli Abhidhamma texts at all.

We might question why 'inherence' is neglected and what is the relationship between 'inherence' and other three apprehensions?

It is due to the characteristic of the Sarvāstivāda school in dealing with *prajñā*. *Prajñā* is dealt with in both its psychological and religious aspects. 'Inherence' (*utpāda prajñā*) is *prajñā* to be inherently obtained. This type of *prajñā* is considered as inherent or a priori from the psychological viewpoint.

The other three, however, concern religious practice; *śrutamayī prajñā* means the apprehension produced by hearing, *cintamayī prajñā* is produced by thinking of the truth, and *bhāvanāmāyī prajñā* is produced by exercise.¹³ Thus, these three *prajñā* concern only the apprehension a posteriori to be cultivated and exercised.

For this reason the Abhidharmakośa divided first *prajñā* into four forms in the chapter of Jñānanirdeśa and later only the three forms are discussed in detail, excluding 'inherence' (*utpāda prajñā*) for it represents merely a psychological function. To the Yogācārin the important thing is the religious practice, which alone depends upon the religious attitude of the practitioner

In the Theravāda school, as we have seen, *nāna* and *paññā* take a different position: the former is a consequence, while the latter the exercise-to-be-developed. This distinction is also retained in the Sarvāstivāda school. In this school, however, the relationship between both become closer and intertwined. In other words, *jñāna* in this school is considered as one of the qualities of the dynamic and functional *prajñā* being thus assimilated by and intertwined with *prajñā*. The diagram appearing on p. 267 attempts to clarify the interrelationship between both.

As for the three features the Sarvāstivādin suggests the following connotations. *Āśānti* means recognition (of the fourfold noble truth) which functions to eliminate defilement. *Kṣānti* does not mean here 'forbearance' or 'endurance' for the following reasons.

The Sanskrit term *kṣānti*, derived from the root *kṣi* ('to endure'), has the two aspects involved: endurance and acceptance ('willing to'). The former meaning is always described as the opposite of *dveṣa* (hatred), *pratigha* (repugnance), *krodha* (anger) and *vyāpāda* (malice)¹⁴. It is this fundamental meaning that is employed in *kṣānti-pāramitā*, one of the ten *pāramitās* popularized in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts.

But it is also used in another subsidiary sense 'willing to' (acceptance) of the truth in a positive way. A Mahāyāna text, Lankāvatāra-sūtra, for instance, mentions about the great powers of a *bodhisattva*, who acquires *anutpattikadharmakṣānti*. This form of *kṣānti*, however, does not mean 'endurance' in a negative way, instead, it points out simply that existence as a whole is beyond all predicable attributes, and no definition whatsoever is, therefore, possible, and all that we can designate of it is voidness or unbornness in view of the ultimate truth. The sense of *kṣānti* in this respect should mean the

¹³ Yaśomitra, *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*. ed. by Wogihara, Tokyo 1932-1936, p. 8.

¹⁴ *Arthasālinā*, pp 122-123, G. H. Sasaki, *A Study of Buddhist Psychology* Tokyo. Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkokai, 1960, p. 308-401.

sāstravaprajñā — samvī tajñāna

1. upapattipratīlambhiko°
2. śrutamayī
3. cintamayī°
4. bhāvanāmāyī°

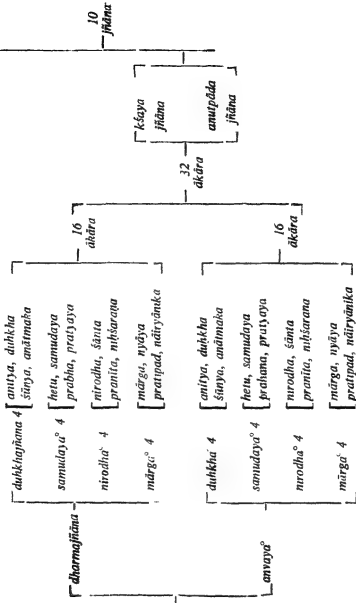
Prajñā

three

features

1. kṣānti
2. jñāna
3. dṛṣṭi

anāśtravaprajñā



positive mental disposition or a willing acceptance of the truth. The Chinese translation 'jen' for *kṣānti* is sometimes taken for 'ti nien' (recognition); but, the implication of this form of *kṣānti*, going a step further, is a positive acceptance of the Buddhist truth or a willing inclination to the ultimate truth. In other words, it denotes the mental state capable of the willing acceptance of all things existing through the denial. As for the Pāli *khānti* (Skt. *kṣānti*) we have once discussed in detail.¹⁵ The Pāli *khānti* is also considered as derived from the two roots, *k.am* ('to endure') and *ka.m* ('to be willing to')

With this basis, we take the word *ksānti*, one of the three features of *prajñā*, as 'acceptance' or 'willing to'. If so, there should be no difficulty in the Yaśomitra's interpretation. According to Yaśomitra the functions of *prajñā* consist of three types: *ksānti jñāna* and *dṛṣṭi*, which correspond to *upanidhyāna*, *nīścitam* and *saṃtīraṇa* in order. *Prajñā* performs its function as acceptance of the truth (*upanidhyāna*) at the first stage, as the decision (*nīścitam*) as the second, and as the investigation (*saṃtīraṇa*) as the last one. It is noticeable that these three kinds of functions have a connecting link between each other, representing the stepping-forward of *prajñā* in function from acceptance to decision or *kṣānti* to *saṃtīraṇa*.

The second feature of *prajñā*, namely, *prajñā* equalized with *jñāna*, means decision (*nīścitam*), which refers to the realization of the truth. It is an object to be cultivated, and still it is assimilated by and included in the functions of *prajñā*. In the Theravāda school *jñāna* is also described as *nāta* (the object to be known), and as the final goal to be reached. But the relationship between *nāta* and *prajñā* is not so explicitly described as in the Sarvāstivāda school. A connecting link between *ksānti*, *jñāna* and *dṛṣṭi* is not represented in the Theravāda school.

The third feature of *prajñā* demonstrates the dynamic exercise of the truth by *prajñā*. In this respect, *prajñā* is viewed as a religious factor which differs from the psychological function. As a psychological factor it is subject to the mental factors (*caetisikā*). On the other hand, as a religious factor it refers to the functional and dynamic religious exercise. This diagram also shows how *prajñā* assimilates its product (*jñāna*), retaining thereby its original meaning as 'exercise to be developed' or 'knowledge to be cultivated'.

The Theravāda school, as we have mentioned before, distinguishes between both *prajñā* and *jñāna*. But this school does not attempt a combination of the two concepts. The Sarvāstivādin, however, attempts a combination and

¹⁵ Yaśomitra, AKV, p. 629. "śva-varna-lope ca kṛte akāra ity upamī bhavati." As for *ksānti*, see G. H. Sasaki, "The Historical Evolution of the Concept of Negation - nekkhamma and nāskramya." *Journal of the American Society*, Volume 83, Number 4, Sept-Dec 1963, p. 478, note 1.

formulates the philosophy of *ākāra* (model form), by which *prajñā* and *jñāna* come into unity.

The Sarvāstivādin lays stress on the concept of *ākāra* and the combination of the two concepts. The diagram as illustrated above, will clarify the combination of the two concepts.

Dharmajñāna, as enumerated in the diagram, is a product of *prajñā*, observing the fourfold noble truth bounded by this material world, while *anvaya-jñāna* is a product of *prajñā*, observing the fourfold noble truth in the immaterial, spiritual world. This diagram shows how the knowledge-to-be-cultivated (*prajñā*) is combined and unified with its product (*jñāna*). This unification is termed *ākāra* (model form).

The term *ākāra* means 'appearance', 'sign', 'mode', 'form', etc. *Ākāra* in an Abhidharmic sense does not simply mean a phenomenal appearance that will disappear with the object. This term refers to something that will remain even after the disappearance of the object.

According to Yasomitra a concept of *ākāra* means a type of form (*rūpa*) which remains after the disappearance of the object.¹⁶ It might be interesting to note that the Theravādin also employs the same term with the same meaning. In Pāli this term is used in opposition to *rūpa-rūpa* meaning matter as matter. *Ākāra* in Pāli references also means the thing which remains after the object disappears.

This model form (*ākāra*) represents the mental disposition in which *prajñā* and *jñāna* come into unity. In other words, *prajñā* denotes the essential nature of *ākāra* and the basis of *jñāna*. Yasomitra states that "the essence of *ākāra* is *prajñā*."¹⁷ Moreover, the four kinds of *jñāna* (*dukkha*, *samudaya*, *mudhu*, *mārga*) are based upon *prajñā*, as it is demonstrated in the diagram. Thus, *ākāra* is a model form, in which *prajñā* and *jñāna* come into unity. *Ākāra* consists of these two counterparts.

An adequate comprehension of the Sarvāstivāda tradition will suffice to show us that *prajñā* includes both functions, psychological and philosophical. It is a psychological function, when *prajñā* is taken as a knowledge to determine (*pravicaya*) the characteristics of *dharma*. One must first of all understand what a *dharma* is and what the world is as distinct from a thing or a person, as it is stated in the Abhidharmakośa.¹⁸

¹⁶ *Visuddhimagga-Mahātthukathā*. Ceylonese Edition, p. 448, Cf also to *A Pali Critical Dictionary*, Vol II I pp 4-8, Copenhagen 1960

¹⁷ Yasomitra, *Abhidharmakośa* 26, Taisho Edition, 29, 137 c

¹⁸ *Ibid*. Regarding a psychological function, i.e., determination (*pravicaya*) Yasomitra comments, "dharma-pravicaya itī. pravacimotiṭi pravacayaḥ praviciyante vā anena dharmā itī

On the other hand, it is a philosophical function, when *prajñā* is taken as a knowledge to be exercised. In this context *jñāna* is the last goal to be obtained by *prajñā*. *Prajñā* is the way by which a consequence (*jñāna*) will be obtained. It has a wider perspective in its nature than the psychological factors, namely, mind (*citta*) and mental properties (*cetasikā*). The Sarvāstivādin says, "The difference between *prajñā* and the mental factors lies in the fact that the essence differ in their width of perspective." *Prajñā* includes the active and the passive functions as well as the model form (*ākāra*),¹⁹ while the mental factors include simply the former two functions, excluding the last, i.e., the model form. This means that *prajñā* in a philosophical sense represents a knowledge to be cultivated, going beyond a simply psychological function. It is a means by which one can remove defilements and reach the final goal. The Mahāsaṅghika school, preceding Mahāyāna Buddhism, defines this concept as a means to remove defilements. "Prajñā is a means (*prayoga*) for removing the sufferings of the sentient beings, giving them the spiritual pleasures." (I-pu-tsun-lun-lun by Vasumitra, Chapt. II, 36 b) This notion has been developed into the Mahāyānist philosophy.

Mahāyāna-Buddhism

With the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism the concept of *prajñā* has come to light.²⁰ Its original meaning 'the knowledge to be exercised', has

pravicayaḥ vena samkīṇāṇāṃ sa dharmāḥ puspāniva pravaciyante ucchvānta ity arthah. Ime śāstravaḥ ime 'anāstavaḥ, ime rūpinaḥ ime'rūpina itī. Dhammānaṃ pravicayaḥ dhammapravicayaḥ pratitvati prajñāti. śaktavye śloka-bandhānugunyaena matu itī kārīkāvāni uktam. (AKV, p. 127)

¹⁹ Vasumitra, clarifying the definition of *prajñā* as *sākāra*, introduces in his work the Sautrantika's view "ālambana-grahana-prakāra ākāra itī nairuktā vidhau itī datsayaty ālambana sabdād ākāraṃ gṛhītā prakāra-śabdāc ca kāra-śabdaṃ śeṣavarna-lope ca ākāra itī rūpam bhavati. tad evam sati prajñā'pī śākāra bhavati siddham" (AKV, p. 629)

²⁰ There have been various linguistic approaches to the term '*prajñāpāramitā*' among the scholars, ancient and modern. Haribhadra interprets this term in his *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-ślokaṣyākhya* as a compound '*pāramitā-tā*', meaning thereby 'to get to the other shore (of this life)'. Such scholars as Böhtlingk, Burnouf, M. Vassilief seem to take this view. The Tibetan equivalent 'pha-tol-tu-phyin-pa' also follows this wrong interpretation. On the other hand, such scholars as I. W. Thomas, T. W. Rhys Davids, W. Stede, H. Dayal, seem to confirm the view that *paramitā* is derived from *pāra*, meaning simply 'highest condition, highest point'. (Cf. H. Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., LTD, 1952, p. 166). The forms *pārami* and *pāramitā* are found in Pāli, i.e., in the Suttanipāṭa, the Nettipakarana and the Jātaka and others, as Dayal mentions in his work. Dayal also remarks further, "The earlier and alternative form *pārami* also points to the derivation from *parama*. The suffix *tā* was probably added to it on the analogy of the abstract substantives ending in *ta*." He did not mention about the phonetic change of *i* (a long vowel) into *ī* (a short vowel), i.e., *pāramitā* (*ita* to *ita*). A long vowel *i* preceding the consonant *ṣ* as a rule changed to *ī*. We have, in this context, the example of *pāramipatta* found in such various Pāli texts as

come into focus with the basis of the Bodhisattva idea, which emphasises the human activities.

The ideal of the Bodhisattva in Mahāyāna Buddhism, in the light of the history, encouraged altruism and universal compassion. Real participation in its higher stage is in Mahāyāna Buddhism increasingly open to the layman. Thus the path of the Bodhisattva is substituted for that of the self-centredness and lack of universal compassion in the Hīnayāna schools. No longer is Buddhism primarily the faith of monks and nuns. The Mahāyānist experience provided the basis for the identification of the Buddha with ultimate reality (*prajñāpāramitā*). Moreover, the quest for that *prajñāpāramitā* experience is identical with the quest for Buddhahood (*Buddhatva*). *Prajñāpāramitā* represents in this context the devotee's recognition of his own potential Buddhahood, which is cultivated by the practitioner himself. A Bodhisattva must practise the six or ten *pāramitās*.

That is to say, with the Mahāyāna, as we have seen, there was the development of the Bodhisattva ideal, and with it a considerable growth of dynamic exercise. It may be noted that the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, the foundation of the Mahāyāna, appear with the title of *prajñā*. This title itself reveals exactly the new aspect emphasized in the Mahāyāna as distinct from the Hīnayāna. It need not be pointed out how much the development of later Buddhism depends on the idea of *prajñāpāramitā*.

The Mādhyamika school developed the intellectual self-training through knowledge, emphasizing thereby the theoretical structure built round *prajñā*. On the other hand, the Vijñānavāda school developed the inner experience through yoga accruing upon the treading of *jñāna*. According to the Vijñānavāda school, *jñāna* represents the pure knowledge realized by the Enlightenment (*prsthulabdhijñāna*). This is the spiritual attendant in which discriminative knowledge is converted into non-discriminative knowledge. Therefore, *prsthulabdhijñāna* means a conversion (*paravṛtti*) from the experimental world based upon discriminative knowledge into non-discriminative knowledge.²¹

Majjhima Nikāya, III, 28, Nd 475; Mtn. 2, etc. There is, however, an example in which both vowels occur. For example, the Atthasālinī, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Edition (ed. by Bapat J.), has a Pāli '*pāramibhāva*' (§85) for '*pāramitabhāva*' found in the Pāli Text Society Edition of the same text.

²¹ According to the investigation mentioned above the term *jñāna* concerns the knowledge, transcendental and consequential, while *prajñā* concerns the knowledge, immanent and existential. It is for this reason that the knowledge of the Buddha is always represented by the Sanskrit original, '*Buddhajñāna*' but not by '*Buddhaprajñā*'. It is because *prajñā* concerns the exercise of the practitioner, retaining thus its original meaning, immanent and existential. As far as the Chinese translation concerns, *Buddhajñāna* is rendered by 'chi', 'wei' and also 'chi wei' in a compound form. All these Chinese renderings are also applied to *prajñā*. Thus,

With the basis of the *prajñāpāramitā*-idea there is some contrast drawn between the Mādhyamika and the Vijñānavāda, between intellectual and experiential self-training (the training of *prajñā*). But relevant investigation of the genesis of *prajñā* in the Early Buddhism, as we have seen before, shows that it is an expression merely of different emphasis. That is, there are two sides to Buddhist experience—the theoretical and the inner experiential. In other words, Buddhist experience involves not only seeing that the reality is ‘emptiness’ (*śūnyatā*) or an unknown, but also seeing this in inner experience, the ‘mind-only’ (*viññaptimātratā*). But as we have mentioned this was only a difference of emphasis, and the two schools rarely clashed with one another.

Thus, the two schools hold, in line with the idea of *prajñāpāramitā*, possibly to its origin in the Early Buddhism, that *prajñā* means the knowledge-to-be-exercised.

the Chinese translation has no rigid distinction between *jñāna* and *prajñā*. *Jñāna* stands for ‘chi’ and sometimes for ‘wei’ in Chinese. It is the same with *prajñā*.

From this historical point of view we can throw a new light upon the modern Buddhism in Japan. There have been the two trends of thought developed in Japan: Zen Buddhism and Shinshu Pietism. The former, in this respect, emphasises *prajñā* (to be exercised), while the latter emphasises *jñāna* attributed simply to the Amida Buddha. The Shinshu Pietism has become paramount in Japan, so that faith in the Amida Buddha or the knowledge of Amida Buddha (*Buddhajñāna*) is the sufficient condition of salvation, and the concept of *prajñā* fades into second place or rather disappears. Both Zen intellectualism accruing on *prajñā* and Shinshu Pietism accruing on *jñāna* play the considerable roles in the development of modern Buddhism in Japan. Zen intellectualism is recognized as part of the preparation of the ultimate *jñāna*. It is *praeparatio mystica*. On the other hand, Shinshu Pietism is an ancillary to *prajñā* (meditative knowledge). We might characterize this relation between intellectualism and pietism by assigning the different weights to the two forms of knowledge: *prajñā* and *jñāna* as we have described above.

RELIGION OF INDIA: DEATH, DEEDS AND AFTER

By

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Studying the growth of Indian philosophy, we meet with what we might describe as a rapid puberty, the transition from the Vedic and Brāhmaṇa childhood to the early adulthood of Sāṃkhya philosophy. This pace is probably forced by the development of the heresies, Buddhism, etc., but as they all centre on the doctrines of transmigration, *samsāra*, and action, deed, karma, we feel it best to deal with these doctrines first.

It has been said that Hinduism has no creed, but this pair of doctrines is almost an obligatory belief. These contradictions in terms, the Christian Hindu, Zoroastrian Hindu, or Moslem Hindu might be dispensed; the newly-integrated savage tribes, e.g. in Assam, might be allowed to keep their beliefs on the after-life; but with fuller experience of civilization they will come to agree with the orthodox. For everyone else the belief in karma and *samsāra* together is axiomatic. so that when we look at the classical philosophies of India, we find they are also practical; they have an aim, to release the individual from transmigration, which is the effect of their acts, *karma*. It is having karma(n) that renders one liable to *samsāra*.

The idea that our deeds in this life will affect our fate in the next is reflected in the many doctrines of hell, in Judean, Christian or pagan tradition. The idea of transmigration can be found in many places, including ancient Greece. But the combination of the two ideas, the belief that acts in this life determine the acts and fate in a subsequent life in this world is peculiarly Indian.

One misapprehension we should remove at once; namely the idea that the doctrine of *samsāra* declares a progress right up to the last life in this world when we reach perfection. There is no guarantee of progress whatever, even if there is a threat in the result of non-progress. But the idea of progress, especially inevitable progress, is a Victorian imposition on the doctrine which makes it intellectually respectable from the humanist standpoint as compatible with Darwinian evolution. This evolution is then contained in ourselves, and so scientific, as being thus liberated from theological bonds. The Indian comment on the doctrine is found in the devotional cults, which cry out, 'Save us from *samsāra* before we have any more of it'.

On the history of the doctrine of transmigration we are in the usual Indian dilemma; some facts point to it being very old, others to its being quite recent. We should therefore first consider the Vedic ideas about the soul and death,

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We suspect that there were originally a great many clear ideas on the matter, but not co-ordinated, or closely reasoned, and one might believe several simultaneously, as is still occasionally done.

The basis for transmigration, the idea that we do not cease to exist on physical death, is of course very old; the idea of complete annihilation is advanced. Even if there is no clear idea on what the dead do, as in the case of the Homeric *nekuia*, they are there. Men have souls, and since they are different in life, in so far as death is a continuation of life, differences in death are to be presumed. Odysseus saw the famous women of old, but in the Vedas remarkably little is said about the female; it may be that she is to be subsumed under the male, but one may remember the later Hindu view that she had no soul till she was married, and then she was merely part of her husband. This attitude must be connected with the growth of restrictions on womanhood, especially on the marriage of widows.

When does one get a soul? This problem in its modern dress is still with us, and in ancient times would have a practical relevance when may be half the deaths would be those of infants and young children. The soul could never have been delayed beyond the *upanayana*, investiture with the sacred cord, this ceremony goes back to Aryan times, and probably to Indo-European, for the Irish *Cuchulain* is also Twice-born, though the origin of the term has been misunderstood in Ireland. The Vedic idea seems to have made weaning the line of demarcation, because when cremation becomes the normal rite, children under 2 (our 1½) are buried, but may be cremated if the teeth have grown. But the classical view, from c 350 BC on, would seem to couple the soul with conception, since killing an embryo is one of the most heinous of crimes. In SpB IX 5/1.62 the killer of a human embryo is looked down on (*pari-cukṣ*); this means that infanticide occurred (c 800 BC), but was not normal, but at the same time not criminal. It may be that at this stage the infant is thought to receive a soul, or at least a soul that matters, when it is brought into official contact with the community, i.e. when the father takes it up, or perhaps when it gets a name. The name is important, for it is at one time a transmigrating entity. In Ch.U 5/9.10 (c 530?) the brahman-killer, *brahmahan*, is among the 4 great sinners, not the embryo-killer, *brūṇahan*; but this word gets substituted for or equated with the former, probably under the influence of the doctrine of *ahimsā*, non-killing, and also *samsāra*; thus in Vasiṣṭha's Dharma Sūtra 20.23 an embryo-killer is one who kills a brahman or an embryo. This passage has its obscurities, but the offence is in killing an embryo the sex of which is unknown, 'for such embryos become males'—evidently already the female human embryo, i.e. the woman has no soul of its own. To the Kaus U 3.1 (5th century BC?) also embryo-killing is an appalling crime, and in *Manu* disqualifies from partaking

the funeral feast ; there is always the ambiguity that *bhrūṇa* may be being used in the esoteric sense of a *Brāhmaṇa* versed in the 3 Vedas and ritual.

One might indeed expect souls to differ as men do, and king or priest receive different treatment from the commoner. But though RV knows both burnt and unburnt dead, no social distinction has been demonstrated. On the other hand, we have no instructions for a royal burial, and by the time of the *sūtras* we assume the rules laid down apply to everyone; but though they might well apply to all the twice-born, there is no reason to assert that *śūdras* would observe them also; we have no evidence, save that the lower social ranks tend to ape their betters.

Evidently although the soul has ceased to animate its body, it is still tied to it, and there is even the idea that just as the dead needs his bow (and apparently originally his wife) in the next world, so he needs his body, which must then be prepared for him. He is in fact told to reunite with it, so that it is important that the body should be uninjured, and the bones magically replaced if necessary. This suggests exposure of the corpse, which is further indicated by the development of the *śrāddha* ritual; in the case of a cremation, the dead could be expected to arrive in the world of the Fathers, *pitṛ*, quite within a month, and so be qualified to receive the ancestral offerings at once; but in the *Kausikasūtra* 88.27 it is a year before he is offered the *śrāddha*, in the intervening period being a *preta*, ghost. This makes sense with a practise of exposure, which may well have continued to lie behind the literary horror-descriptions of cemeteries.

What the soul was is always hard to answer, but we do find in Vedic, the the word *asū*, taken as Life, (= Avestan *ahu*); one suspects we have a weak grade of the root found in nose, *ns=u*, and we have the nose-breath, life-breath. In Rome the next of kin bent over to catch the last breath of the dying man, (*anima* = (breath) soul) and a similar performance is recommended in Kauṣ. U 2.15. The word disappears in Sanskrit, but is still known to Kauṣ. U 4.2; evidently *prāṇa* drives it out owing to the equation with *brahman*; breath on which life depends can be controlled, but life can not. Catching the breath would be originally catching the soul; whether the son would then have 2 souls would be an irrelevant and irreverent question, but we have here an attempt to justify the assertion that we personally have immortality through our (male) children. This could also be a source of transmigration.

In RV performance of the rites releases the soul on its journey to the fathers or Yama, the first to die, with the guidance of *Pūṣan* or *Agni* (presumably he helps the cremated only), or *Savitṛ*; he goes past the dogs of Yama, who guard and round up Yama's herd, but also keep out those who should not be admitted, demons. The dead goes leaving everything nasty behind. Keith

translates sin, but the word is 'not to be spoken', *avadya*, i.e. we have not so much a proleptic statement that he will be free from the inauspicious when he gets to heaven, as a command not to bring any; which is ensured by the proper ritual, that includes these verses RV 10/14-6 ff. When one gets to Yama's house, one stays; so Naciketas in TB/Kaṭha U does not speak as if he did not expect to. Similarly Thieme has reconstructed a one-way journey from Kauṣ. U 1 and related texts, to a world where one lives happily ever after, though simultaneously, and some what contradictorily, the dead need the śrāddha offerings once a month or oftener.

This afterthought is not very surprizing; In ŚpB XIII 3/5-2 we are distinctly told that there is just one death in the next world, namely Hunger. This is natural in a pacific and material heaven, such as the Vedic is represented to us. Every creature-comfort is available, soma, milk, honey, surā (evidently a kṣatriya survival, since though it is evidently a popular drink in RV, it has not the ritual privilege, and latter it is a source of offence), the joys of love in bodies free from all defects; no provision is made for hunting or fighting, which one might expect to be included in a kṣatriya paradise, though kingship or kṣatriyahood continues (ŚpB XII 8/3 7) Heaven is a world of light and waters, song and feast But here also there may be a conflation of ideas, for if the abundant svadhā is both the food of the spirits and the power by which they win it, what need of Śrāddha from men?

There is a similar confusion/conflation on divine immortality That immortality was not originally a divine property may be indicated by the Indo-European myth about the drink of immortality having to be won, preferably stolen; but once the eagle had won it for the gods, or the gods had cheated the asuras out of it, why do the gods need to be kept alive by the sacrifice? But they do; for we are told that the gods do not wish men to know (brahman) since they will then not need to sacrifice (and so the divine food-supply would be endangered). A compromise is found for this contradiction in the decision that the sacrifice contains soma, the drink of immortality.

Celtic gods and anti-gods can be killed, just as Indian asuras, who were cheated out of the amṛta—the successful possession of which may be regarded as reflecting the Oedipus complex, and stealing it its guilt; so is the confession that it cannot be won again today. Outbreaks of amorality are beyond guilt, and so we find them joined with search for immortality e.g. in the tantric cult Goetz suggests as explaining the iconography of certain temples at Khajurao c 1000 AD. But generally the possibility of death is accepted, gladly for demons (against whom fire is a sure killer), and with apprehension for ourselves, i.e. the ancestors, pitṛs. We may have a soul, but the soul does not have a soul, and evidently it is its body; its death involves annihilation, and is regarded as a

disaster to be avoided at all costs. The danger of re-death, *punarmrtyu*, is a continual theme in the *brāhmaṇas*, and the sure recommendation of an esotericism is to say it releases the knower from re-death. With the classical doctrine of *samsāra*, there is no further word of a soul dying; that indicates that the conception of its nature has changed, doubtless in the philosophic crisis of the 6th century. But so long as there was a fear of losing life by dying in heaven, the material or sensual heaven of the *pitrs* and Yama, it is fair to hold that material life was considered valuable and enjoyable, or at least that its prizes were. This is still the attitude in the early *Dharmasūtras*, of Gautama c. 600, and Baudhāyana (who may have lived further from the centre of Indian thought, —he is taken to be a southerner—c. 500 BC?; he may very well belong to the Mahratta country, since his family is of the *Vasiṣṭhas*, who had a very old connection with the *Āśmakas* of that region)

In this Vedic account it is worth noting that the soul of the dead reaches (the kingdom of) Yama, where he is welcomed, on the performance of appropriate funeral rites. If these rites are not performed, or are not yet complete, the ghost cannot make his journey, he cannot be at rest, and it is ghosts in this state that are dangerous. But they are released to their world by ritual. In RV there is no description of hell, and no sign of judgement; nor does such an idea seem Indo-European. The punishments of Varuṇa are in this world, not the next. But the idea of moral retribution on death implies a willingness to sit in judgement on one's father, an individualism that asserts a personal responsibility to an external standard, which is not possible at the Vedic stage of society, where responsibility is to the community or the family. When hells do come into being, they are not at first entered by open competition in depravity. e.g. JB 1/325. There are 3 heavens and 3 hells of the *sāman*; when the chant is begun too soon is (no. 1) hell; having caused one's hostile rival to fall (into it) the beginning is heaven, having the *Pratihartṛ* priest join in on the 4th instead of the last *sāman*, and after the 4th having a general chorus (instead of leaving it to the *pratihartṛ* only joining in first?) are the other 2 hells; causing one's hostile rival to fall (into them?) the 4th *sāman* and the finale are (the 2 other) heavens. In AV 5/19 the one who injures a brahman sits in streams of blood eating hair, just as in Ch.U. 5/9-9 the killer of a brahman goes to hell—they may have had very good cause, but brahman soul is more powerful than e.g. *Caṇḍāla*. RV passages like 4/5.5, 7/104.3 certainly promise no good to the bad; but the attitude could be fairly summed up as equivalent to the very modern 'Damn you!'—someone has given the speaker offence, and may he be damned. And the imprecation is timeless or permanent, bearing no evidence of a belief in transmigration. Or, if Indra and Soma are asked to pierce the doers of ill (harm to us) in the darkness that offers no hold, or possibly to throw them into it, it is hoped that the request will be fulfilled now,

not that only when their time comes will the evil go to Yama and be condemned there. It is one thing to hope that bad men will be punished, and quite an other to assert a moral standard well aware that one may fall under one's own condemnation. Evil people cannot be denied, but it cannot be said that the early Veda ever gets to the assertion of rewards and punishments in the next world/life by moral performance in this.

We should also note that the Fathers, *pitṛ*, tend to be a collective. In the later *pravara* lists, kept to give guidance on restrictions of intermarriage we find 1 name, but usually 3, and not more than 5 names as representative of the descent. In the *śrāddha* father, grandfather, and great-grandfather are the representatives invoked to send sons; this is common sense; for since the sacrificer needs sons of his own to feed him when he is dead, he must appeal to the fathers that knew him personally to make sure that he is heard; if his great-great-great-great-grandfather (and consequently also those further up the line) are being fed by an other branch of the family, what need they care?

The impression that one gets is that the dead lose their individual characters, and their existence rather than their idiosyncracies are important. The (traditional) Christian faces a judgement based on the morality of his deeds and dispositions, his talents and the use made of them; the result is that he feels these make up the soul, and somehow they are inseparable from it, though it may be in the power of God to cleanse the undesirable. But these dispositions are the permanent him. But to the Indian these things are qualities that adhere, and the soul, the *asu*, *pīāna* (breath) or *puruṣa* (animating principle?), whichever term we use—is rather an entity, free or at least separate from these qualities, which performs the same function for everyone, so that *puruṣas* are alike. It is then natural to think of *pitṛs* collectively. The activity fit for a collective state is rather that of being than doing, and vagueness becomes natural. So we find that the Fathers, *pitṛ*, are in heaven; but there are traces of their abode being under the earth—natural if they are buried—but the moon is also an abode of souls, an idea that may be due to the identification of the moon with soma, the drink of immortality.

Even if their heaven is vague, and the *pitṛs* are static in their own abode, the connection with their descendants remains, and the parties can be expected to assist in difficulties reciprocally, until the triumph of the classical doctrine of transmigration with karma. On the one hand the Fathers, while not technically gods, are in the same kind of supernormal world, of the same superfine matter as they, and are virtually minor (collective) divinity; they may then be expected to help the family, even in battle—in RV 6/75.9 they have notable weapons, strength in arrows, and overcome hosts. And the human can reciprocate; so a model student (Ga. it. DhS 9.74), that is brahmin *snātaka*, frees his parents and

his lineage 7 up and 7 down from troubles, *duritebhyas*, and never falls from Brahma's heaven. Or, Baudh. DhS I 10/19-12 by false witness one kills, that is with re-death, beyond redemption, 3 up and down his genealogy, while in II 9/16-9 by getting a good son (*i.e.* a perfect brahmin) one saves one's self plus 6 up and down his line.

But once we have the belief in *samsāra*, then the dead, even if they are divinities, are as impotent as any other god; nor is there any reason to suppose they will remain a collective, because everyone's actions are different and by any logic they are likely to be in widely different places, not all particularly honourable. And if some are likely in animal reincarnation, and others in hell, quite clearly they have enough troubles of their own, and even if some are human, they are unlikely to know they are ours, and certain to be quite as impotent. Yet the offerings go on, and this is typical of Indian religion. Nothing can be rejected, because it has always been right; but plainly there is nothing the *śrāddha* can do if the soul is at once reincarnated or taken on the journey that leads to that; the offering to the dead as a perpetual obligation implies a permanent state.

When and whence does the belief in *samsāra* come? We note that the proliferation and interest in ghosts, *preta*, is first met in the Buddhist writings; we therefore suspect that the belief that everyone is a *preta* for (at least) a year (instead of going at once to Yama's world) is a compromise by orthodoxy forced from below. We suspect a similar origin for the acceptance of *samsāra* that is forced on the orthodoxies by the heresies or potential heresies of the 6th century BC. It is significant that non-brahmins are prominent among the leaders of these heresies, and we are distinctly told in the oldest orthodox appearances of the doctrine of transmigration (BrU 6/2, ChU 5/3, Kauṣ. U 1) that it was a *ksatriya* doctrine, and even had not been taught to *brāhmaṇas* before. Presumably then it appealed to *ksatriyas*, the ruling class, and also one would think it could not have appealed to them if they had thought life was pain. One should not perhaps expect the *ksatriya* to anticipate life as pain; by their innate nature as *ksatriyas* they would hardly expect to return as *vaiśya* or *śūdra* which would be not them. In other words, if only by sexual optimism, the *ksatriya* would not expect to return to any position save an enviable one in the upper class, where human life is quite clearly greatly enjoyed, even with only the luck that always seems to go to other people. The brahmin may claim half the merit of sacrifice, but the *ksatriya* can always recoup by controlling transmigration by the magical knowledge of its doctrine (taking a leaf out of the brahmin book), and ritual acts, sacrifices (of which one can always concoct one for any aim), the karma, of which they are themselves the patient and spend-thrift institutors.

We are told that the doctrine of *samsāra* was introduced to brahmanic circles through Śvetaketu at a (schematic) date of 790, and though this would be possible, and princes certainly have reason for optimism at that time, Śvetaketu is almost the latest of the 'canonical' teachers, so that to have ascribed the doctrine to anyone later would have been to deprive it of authority; hence we consider the serious brahmanical interest only begins in the 6th century since it is not demonstrable for the First rehandling of BrU 3-4 in the first half of that century, and not evident in Gautama DhS of c 600. When we do find it in the kṣatriya world of the 6th century, *samsāra* has become connected with pessimism. One would suspect that the optimism of the kṣatriya class fades through the 6-5th centuries with the centralization of kingdoms on the one hand, and the rise of merchants and money economy with high interest on the other; the loss of faith in ritual is also relevant, because it can no longer guarantee the high status that could previously be assumed, and mere kṣatriyahood, that is gentle blood, might be no more guarantee against poverty than it was to the 18th century French nobleman or Polish szlachcic. Yet the Buddhist way is rather for the few, and the failure of sacrifice and ritual must be reflected in the rise of deism from the 5-4th centuries on. One might note in a similar economic transition in Greece the same trend to pessimism in the landowning aristocracy, the contrast of Homer's heroes, who are willing to enjoy life if only they get the chance, to whom being dead is miserable, with the pessimism of Herodotus' Solon, Call no man happy till he is dead.

Every race has a paradise, which consists of perfect earthly conditions. Not everyone need enter, and qualifications may be as arbitrary as for the Athenaeum. There is the Celtic land of youth, Tir nan Og, the Greek Elysian fields, to which divine genealogy or marriage-alliance may admit. The Indian pitṛs as we saw had a very comfortable time, and if one could choose a gandharva form, that is a fertility spirit form, he should certainly enjoy himself. Presumably the gods too, when they are not being harried and scared by the asuras are very comfortable.

This idea of a heavenly if very earthly paradise is never given up in India. In classical times, Indra has his paradise, about all that is left of his prerogative. At least the weaker souls among the heretics of ascetic belief do not disdain such, for Buddhist and Jain art is thoroughly worldly from the beginning, and we find the most seductive yakṣhins, apsaras, nymphs sculptured and painted in the shrines. So too in the rounds of transmigration we hear of periods long or short, preferably long, during which the personality is in paradise, Indra's or other, and it is a sad thought for him that he will have to quit in 10,000 years, and come back to some human or animal condition. No one is in a paradise for life, nor is paradise the antechamber to Release or Nirvāṇa—indeed in his potentiality for winning these men is superior to the gods. And in accordance

with this guilty but unashamed hankering after the worldly joys, Buddha came into his historical life from the Tusita heaven, where having sated experience, he descended to an earthly heaven, the royal household of King Śuddhodana. Buddha's house and upbringing is not painted for what it was, the probably quite ordinary, and possibly even quite poor house of a country gentleman of the fighting class, but as the earthly paradise of a powerful monarch. Here again we have the prestige of perfection that the Indian (brahmanical) mentality imposes; the doctrine is perfect, the Buddha is perfect, therefore his environment must have been, and this is the 'significant' if not the historical truth. There is no question of romanticizing the stable, just as there is no prominent proletarian element in the early Buddhist church.

Much the same may be said for Mahavira Jina; legend is not afraid to upgrade his family environment, and bring thus the vicarious enjoyment of wealth to his worshipper. Quite clearly, whatever might be the official theory of Hinduism or heresy, there was a very widespread opinion that earthly pleasures were well worth having; so a devout Buddhist princess of mediaeval Burma can make a gift to acquire her 10,000 god-years in paradise before she goes on to Nirvāṇa. In classical Hinduism this material value is practically admitted by the acknowledgement of *kāma*, love, and *artha*, wealth, profit, as legitimate aims of life, or at least part of it.

So long as material pleasures are good, and one enjoys these in the world of the dead, there is no point in quitting that world. It is not surprising then if orthodoxy did not originally acknowledge transmigration. So when Gautama tells us (DhS 9 74) that the model brahmanical student never falls from Brahma's heaven, or (8-25-6) that one who has the 40 sacraments, but not the 8 qualities, or (13-7) that truthful witnesses win heaven, the implication is permanence. This is also the implication of Bauddhāyana, (DhS I 3/5 13) sages reach the highest abode of Prajāpati Parameśthin; ib. 3/10-7 a fool, even offering gifts, does not reach heaven, ib. II 9/16-9 one saves one's self and 6 up and down his line by begetting a perfect son, i.e. he saves from dying in the next world. On the other hand, ib. I 11/21 3 he causes such death down to the 7th generation of his family if he gives his daughter in marriage for money, and an early interpolator has added, in unusual phraseology, transmigration is an extra penalty (unless we should translate 'Also a fine is laid on the go-between', which has its objections).

One may also doubt whether the Brhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad accepted the classic transmigration. BrU 1-2 does not know it, and references in 3-4 are either otherwise interpretable or easily detached. So in 4/4.4 when the soul leaves the body, as a goldsmith takes a piece of gold and makes a new and better shape, so the soul, dispelling ignorance makes a new and better form, either as

a piti, or Gandharva, or a god, deva, a prajāpati, creator of creatures, Brahṃā, or of other beings—not be it note, of man or animal. And this contradicts the interpolator who says his acts and knowledge take hold of him, for if so, how does he create like the goldsmith? The one who knows Brahma would take the brahma form, but there is no sign of anything but the permanence of the other states. While it would call for much argument to establish the position here taken, for which there is no room here, it would generally be accepted that the orthodox doctrine of saṃsāra with karma prevailed by 400 BC.

The acceptance of the doctrine need not cause surprise owing to its rapidity; it captured the leading intellectual and social classes, or at least their élites; the idea that the socialist welfare state is the only right one has had an equally rapid and profound acceptance in modern times. We need not demand centuries of acclimatization to saṃsāra. But it might be interesting to ask in view of the universality of the doctrine. What was the mechanism of saṃsāra?

The modern idea of transmigration, especially to those Westerners who take it up is Once a man, always a man. And this may have been in the early idea. But in the ancient world the transition from human to animal form or vice versa is perfectly easy and natural. It is part of a god's elementary qualities that he can assume any change of form at will; occasionally he can be reduced to it against his will, or can be caught if he does not change and is taken unawares, as Odysseus caught Proteus. We find a late form of the motif in the ballad of Tam Lane, who will change into 'an esk but and an adder' before resuming his human shape. There is no loss of dignity in such a transition to animal. To the child the animal is as itself, and is treated as an equal; here again we have a resurgence of the child psychology in dealing with the religious unknown. The Greek separation of man from animal and god from animal is one of Greece's greatest achievements; but we find Athene taking the form of a sparrow in the Odyssey, and we know that in many cases the sacred animals were earlier their respective gods. Pythagoras had a transmigration that included animal stage, and in Ireland Tuan O'Carrill had similar experience; he was first a man, then he became a stag, after that a boar (Celtic sacred animals), then a fish, which being caught and eaten by Carrill, he became his son. Whether the boar ate the stag or the fish the boar does not appear, but in ChU 5/10.6 being eaten by a man is the only way to become human, though it would seem that one remains vegetable until so eaten.

The mechanism of saṃsāra receives very little attention in Indian philosophy. The practical attitude is If we know the fact, its how? doesn't matter, just as Buddha forbade certain philosophic questions because they could contribute nothing to the crying need, release from transmigration. The process is basically that described in the Yorkshire song, 'On Ilkley moor baht' at, and depends

on the analysis of things as *nāmarūpa*, name and form. The name is a reality and cannot be annihilated, so it may cling to the material in the transmogrifications of this latter, just as nail-clippings or hair are still the person, and so can be used against him magically. One might say this implies that the material is the man, and everyone should be hundreds of people, because he has eaten hundreds of vegetables of ducks. But this is only a crude objection, because the material has the name which is immaterial and one, so the transmigrating entity can retain its unity, the name is of the material, but not it.

It would certainly have been difficult to come to an agreement scientifically demonstrated on the actual process of transmigration. There had been thinkers who held that the body was the self; as this idea would not impinge on the efficacy or necessity of the sacrifice or ritual for material well-being or magic, they would remain within orthodoxy; their doctrine is absorbed in the *annamaya puruṣa*, *annam brahma*, *brahma* is food, the soul consisting of food, as found in Tait.U 3/2. Materialists continue, and Ajita Keśakambalin c 520 BC denies transmigration (and a *fortiori* karma) because at death the physical elements dissolve, separate to their own places, and this is a full account of the process of death; there is nothing to transmigrate. The counter to this statement seems to have been proving that there was a soul/something to transmigrate without demonstrating how. The assertion of transmigration by the great teachers, and their claim to know their previous lives, whether they actually made it, or it was ascribed to them as a logical and necessary perfection, was decisive for their disciples, who became the overwhelming majority: the argument became one from authority, and in such unanimity the question How? is of no relevance to karma, and at most the answer would be a scientific fact as uninteresting as most others. There is also a progressive reason for lack of interest in asking the question, namely that in the *brāhmaṇa* period such knowledge would have had its reward, but when thought has become adult and emancipated from magic, and karma moralized, knowing the doctrine or anything about it is not going to change the karma. For a short time it did, for in the early doctrine the will at death could control the next life, and this could only be the will of one who knows; hence one suspects that the doctrine of transmigration was overtaken by modern thinking before it had time for elaborate brahmanical development, i.e. in Buddha's time it was not very old as a systematic and serious idea.

Our account of the mechanics of *samsāra* is first found in a text shared by *Bṛhad Āraṇyaka* and *Chāndogya Upaniṣads*, which knew the one-way journey reflected in the *Kauṣītaki*. It is quite possible that the heresies would be generally content with the orthodox account there given, because they make no innovation on the funeral rites, and certainly none that depends on the peculiarity of their doctrine. Buddha himself had an ordinary if princely funeral; not more

than the dispute over his relics was abnormal. There was no reason for major disagreement on the course of events at death; as a scientific it was a limited question, and so unworthy of the perfect total intellect.

In the original account the dead go to the moon. The reason for this is originally a word-jingle that may go back to Indo-European times; *man* = think, *manas* = 'mind', *māna* = thought, *mā* = measure, *mā-as/mnns* ?, cf Gk. *mēn*, = moon (Lat. *mēnsis* = month, *Mēna* = goddess presiding over women's courses): *aod māna* = abode, cf Lat. *maneo* = stay, mansion) from (d) *man-*. In the dissolution of the body the Brahmanic *manas* is always going to the moon. That is at one stage the *manas* is the soul, and this may be supported from RV 10/58.1 where a *manas* went to Yama.

However, there are many dangers for the dead; they go to an unknown world, and that itself must be a cause of subconscious fear. So the ancient Egyptian, even Pharaoh was threatened with dangers; and just as there is initiation into the adult community, so there must be into the dead. Passing an initiation gives that little bit of self-confidence and superiority difference that everyone needs; the North American form is the juvenile initiations into school/university fraternities. It adds that extra thrill that there are some people who fail. So when the soul gets to the moon it is asked some question, and if it answers correctly, it is let go on to the next stage of the journey to the brahma world. As in the Egyptian case, the only safe method is to know; wild guessing and a hope for the best are not good enough; so we have the fate after death determined *yathāvidyā*, according to knowledge, and this wording recurs in the early accounts of *samsāra*, e.g. the interpolator of BrU 4/4.2, or Katha U 2/2 7. But there is always a stimulus to knowledge if we know the penalty of ignorance; so we are informed. By comparing BrU 6/2.16, ChU 5/10.8, KausU 1/2 we can know that those who had not been prepared with the knowledge became insects, in fact probably originally flying insects, between earth and heaven, *kīṭāḥ patāṅgāḥ*. This is variously expanded in the different version, but is interesting as suggesting a time when insects and animals were not on the same level in Indian feeling; man can always feel a kinship with the animal, but too early man the insect world is neither beneficial nor sympathetic, e.g. insects are not his food, (with a few special case exceptions), whereas fish or animal is. Significantly it is the late Kaus.U that embroiders most, adding animals, fish, bird, lion, bear etc. In BrU 6/2.15-6 *vidyā*, knowledge takes to the brahma-world, and ritual to human reincarnation (ultimately); but those who do not know these two ways become insects.

When all went the same way, there was clearly need only for one path for the dead. But once there are two ends the paths must branch somewhere. It is worth noting that physically and psychologically men need rest, and desire

purpose, for purpose fulfilled will give rest; hence there is no question of universal aimless transmigration, even though the conventional transmigration is purposeless. The paths diverge in the moon; there is the waxing moon and the waning moon, the lengthening day and the shortening day. But the path is based on a traditional one-way journey, and this is clear from the language of the passage, which begins 'Those who know this, and those who meditate on Faith as truth'. 'this' is a doctrine of the old brāhmaṇa type, the reward of knowing which is the common guarantee of success, in this case reaching the (perpetual) Brahma-world; an explanation of the equivalence of heat/fire and life. We should remember that "Those who know this" could be expected to be brāhmaṇas, and so would naturally want to go the brahma-world. We could expect the same of the other category also. Those who meditate on truth as faith, *śraddhām satyam* (ChU austerity as faith *śraddhām tapas*) in the forest. Psychologically this can be justified, and connected with the passage according to the will at death; but one suspects it has been reformed from *śraddhām satyam* (*upāsate*, those who perform) a correct *śraddha*, offering to the ancestors. The ChU version can be paralleled by BrU 5/11·1 for its original sense, where the highest austerity/heat, *tapas*, is when they bring the dead into the forest and cremate him there.

However, ideas are changing, and we must examine the journey. The brahman/ascetic reaches/is changed into light (a shooting star? arcis), from light to day, from day to the waxing (lunar) $\frac{1}{2}$ -month, thence to the lengthening day $\frac{1}{2}$ -year, from there to the world of the gods, thence to the sun, thence to the moon, from there to the lightening (possibly the original is the bright part of the moon, because the moon is omitted in BrU 6/2 15, but is after the sun in ChU 5/10·2 and BrU 5/10·1, the original text would be *ādityāḍ candramasom v(a)idyutam*, from the sun to the shining moon. There the soul is met, we are told by a mental or non-human person; however the original text can be recovered, and has unexpected points of interest.

BrU reads *tān vidyutān puruṣo mānava etya brahmalokam gamayati*, them belonging to lightening/consisting of lightening a mental person coming guides to the brahma world. The soul does not elsewhere consist of lightening, and we want *vidyutāt*, with th n/t confusion ubiquitous in Mss. Next, a mental person is peculiar, and we need only reread the ChU version, *puruṣo mānavah*, not *puruṣo'mānavah*, not a non-human person, but one belonging to Manu. We can now retranslate; *tān vidyutān puruṣo Mānava etya brahmalokam gamayati*, them (the souls) from the lightening/light part of the moon a person/spirit in the service of Manu coming, guides to the world of brahma. At the gate of paradise one would expect someone, a minor janitor, to escort the (triumphant) soul to the king; and this suggests that the king Yama Vaivasvata the Iranian first of men to die is the same as Manu Vaivasvata, the Indian first man. Yama is

the title as twin; but Manu is the first man, and must have a wife, who if she is not made from/for him, can only be made with him, coeval, Yamī, twin-sister, whom we meet in RV. Without a story of Cain and Abel the first man must also have died first, which Yama did, and in India AV 18/3-13 tells us Yama did. The separation of Manu from his title Yama proved awkward for the mythology, and Yāska gives us one of the attempts to restore order in the myths; Tvaṣṭṛ was going to give his daughter to Vivasvat, but the gods made a form like her, savarṇa; she bore the pair Yama and Yamī, to Vivasvat, and on the female eidolon was born also from Vivasvat Manu *Savarṇi*. Such a story was not necessary when Manu was Yama. What susceptibilities the union of Vivasvat and Tvaṣṭṛ's daughter should have offended I cannot suggest.

The further path to Brahma is figured in Kaus. U; it is decidedly material, and at one point aparasas abound, 500 of them. This leads to ascetic soul-searching, for while in ChU (omitting the further description of Kaus.) the soul then stays in Brahma's heaven, and did so originally in BrU, which says 'Of these there is no return', BrU has inserted the addition immediately before 'They dwell long periods in Brahma-worlds'. The material has offended, and in the classical ideas all heavens come to an end, and the merit that acquired them becomes exhausted; one is in such heavens for long periods, for god-years are far longer than human, and no one dreams of merit that will only produce a fortnight's holiday. The idea of the brahma world, happy heaven has had to compromise with that of the cyclic universe, and also the unreality of the material. We might also notice that Yama's heaven has been transferred to Brahma in the decline of the old R̥gvedic gods.

We may now look at the journey to transmigration. It is undertaken by the sacrificer: ChU. Those who in the village (*i.e.* not having yet become vānaprastha, retired and gone into the forest) practise the sacrificial ritual with the thought 'It is given'. That the meritorious giving is sacrificial, (or its substitute, to priests) may be seen by comparing the BrU passage 6/2.16 and ib. 5/2.2. In the former we read, 'Those who win worlds by the austerity/heat, tapas, of giving', glossed by *yajñena* (now part of the text), sacrifice: the giving, *dāna* tapas should be compared with the Ch.U *śraddhā tapas*, faith heat-power in the other path.

They change into/reach the smoke (of the pyre), thence to night, thence to the waning ½-month, to the ½-year of waning day, to the world of the Ancestors, the pitṛloka. Thence they go to the moon (via *ākāśa*, ether, adds Ch.) where they become food for the gods, who eat them, telling King Soma 'Swell up towards (us), wane away'. This sounds strange, but soma = the moon, and presumably when the light is increasing the "cup" is being filled, when the gods start partaking, it empties, and the moon wanes. *teṣāṃ yadā tat paṇy-*

avalti, of them (the gods (?)) when that (food, *i.e.* the dead) comes round down (*i.e.* when they are excreted), then they (the dead) fall down into the ether we know (*īman akāśm*), thence into air, thence into the rain, from the rain into the earth, where again they become food.

BrU now simply says that they are poured in the male fire, and born in the female fire; the words used assert human, not animal, and do not imply any difficulty in the process—births are perennial. Thus BrU ties up with the old doctrine 6/2.14 that began the discussion, knowing which guaranteed brahmaloka. But it does not guarantee their knowing the doctrine. Getting back up into worlds again, (*i.e.* winning worlds, *lokān*, as before by sacrifice, gifts (to *brāhmaṇas*) etc.) they so repeat the cycle. Indeed there is no guarantee or even expectation that they will choose or even be in a position to choose the brahmaloka course next time—most people are not, not being born *brāhmaṇas*. Winning worlds is a very difficult phrase to understand; winning the world of *e.g.* sacrifice seems to mean having complete control of sacrifice and everything connected with it, so for instance one is in no danger of failing complete success in any sacrificial activity or its aim.

But in ChU we already have developments. The dead reach the moon; the gods eat it; dwelling in it *yāvatsampātām*, so long as there is remnant of their offerings, (but it could have meant 'until thrown out'), they descend by much the same route as in BrU; but their becoming food is particularized; they may become barley, rice, beans or trees. And this state is extremely difficult to get out of, for he must be eaten by a male for further birth; (note again, he has to be emitted as semen, so it is possible that the woman was not regarded as having a soul (though she had a *jīva*, life-soul). It is also possible that we have here a reflection of the old view that only the father had the essential of life-giving, the woman did not contribute; and this view, still acceptable in Buddha's time, had implications for the status of the children of mixed marriages.) It is perhaps here significant that the vegetable stage is not recognized as a life in *samsāra* by Buddhism, whereas it is by Jainism. Buddha (cf. BrU) is one generation earlier than the Jina (cf. ChU). Katha U 2/2.7 also recognizes the vegetable state.

We are told it is exceedingly hard to get out of this state; it seems to depend quite a bit on chance whether one does it at all, but the attitude is at least that there is no great advantage in being eaten quickly; there is plenty time in the kalpa, and human life is not so valuable that it is important to have many; or perhaps, since the brahma world is open only to *brāhmaṇas*, it is a matter of indifference whether non-*brāhmaṇas* ever get there at all. It might thus seem that orthodoxy accepted *samsāra* first as applying only to men; but logically if eating food was in the mechanism, the animal and further, the insect stages had

to be included; these were thus raised to common level with man. And this process might be reinforced logically by the conception of what transmigrated, if this should be identified with *jīva*, the life soul, as is done by the Jains, — life is the same in man and beast, — involving motion, growth and reproduction, and these last two are shared by the vegetable, which can then equally be conceived as living, *jīva*. The use of the animal fable in *Jātakas* by Buddhists may have contributed to the establishment of the animal stage in orthodox *samsāra* also; but it is possible that the causation is the other way, and the acceptance of animal *samsāra* contributed to the development and popularity of the animal story. Animal birth in classical *samsāra* is normally a punishment, so that if Buddha was not pretty often previously a bad man—an awkward deduction the texts do not face—these stories should arise from a pre-karma stage of the doctrine of transmigration; and that they are popular bears out our impression that *samsāra* was forced on orthodoxy from below.

There is no sign of reincarnation in BrU 6/2 being conditioned by previous moral behaviour. KausU, giving a very abbreviated account of the journey, says that one gets one's status *yathākarma yathāvidyām*, according to deeds and knowledge. This phrase sounds immediately moral to us, but it is not necessarily so in Sanskrit at all; it would mean originally 'According as he has made sacrifices, ritual', and we may remember that originally one only qualified for this path by having done brahmanic ritual. 'According to knowledge' is not moral either, and originally referred to knowledge of a particular doctrine. But ChU 5/10-7 does assert conditioning by previous moral behaviour, in unusual words, which itself suggests a technical terminology not yet fixed. We have suspected that Buddha moralized the doctrine of *samsāra* by wedding it to that of moral karma; and here we have the same time-sequence as we found for vegetable stage in *samsāra*, namely BrU—Buddha—ChU—Jina. (The last two can be, and very possibly are contemporary in both cases).

It might be possible to translate ChU 5/10-7 as saying, 'Those (seeds/plants) whose eating is pleasant, their eating (tends) towards that they fall into a nice womb one of the twice-born, and nasty ones get into nasty wombs, dog, sow or untouchable', *tad ya iha ramanīyacaranā abhyāśo ha yat te ramanīyāṃ yonim āpadyeran brāhmaṇayoninī vā kṣatriyayoninī vā vaiśyayoninī vā* ., but the normal rendering is, 'Those whose conduct is to be delighted in, the next thing is that they will fall into wombs to be delighted in, twice-born grades'. The opposite of 'to be delighted in' is *kapūya* 'stinking, evil-smelling'. In favour of the first interpretation is the fact that these adjectives are not normally applied to moral conduct, but are more natural with food; but *carana* = eating is a meaning found only in the lexicographers, while = conduct is very common. It may well be that we have again old phrasing reused and put to new meaning.

While Aryans had the world of the fathers, *pitṛloka*, it is possible, or even likely that non-Aryans did not, or at least could not enter the Aryan one. This would account for the third path mentioned by BrU & ChU; for the path of transmigration was only open to those who fulfilled the sacrificial round, and for *śūdras* this is not possible. This is also in accordance with the importance of the *śrāddha*, ancestor worship, in the formation of caste as we know it. So the non-Aryans, forming a substratum in popular levels were far more ghost/vampire-haunted than the twice-born. Hence when the pretas emerge to importance with Buddhism, so that Keith can say the idea of the dead *on earth* helping their descendants is practically unknown in N. India before Buddhism, we have the reflection of a popular revolt against the brahman contempt of the non-Aryan dead. Transmigration has been called the Indian Hell; or nightmare; when life is pain, misery, what was the attraction of a belief that condemns to repeated pain? We can now see the answer, that in its early stage transmigration was a liberation; the non-Aryan was freed from eternal existence (or rapid annihilation) in the shape of an insect, or worm, or some other horrid living form. Even though Buddhism accepts the (end of the) third way, it has attained a certain status, for one may be born not as a man or animal, but as a Preta, a ghost, that hungry and thirsty as it may be, yet has an existence of its own. The acceptance of transmigration brought equality with the Aryan; and when Hinduism, orthodoxy, retreats to the country in the Indian urbanization, it has to accept the popular belief for survival; that is, transmigration becomes universalized, and remains so. Just as *nirvāṇa* enables the unqualified to become a *brāhmaṇa*, in effect, so *samsāra* makes the unqualified an Aryan.

I have not found any further account of the mechanism of *samsāra*. What the Upaniṣad had said could not be subsequently denied. In Buddhism and Jainism it is the reason for it rather than the mechanism of it that is asserted. Yet the reason for it is given only in terms of the individual, why he comes under it; the argument for the general phenomenon is not given. Again, in the classical 6 systems, proofs of God, or rebuttals may be given, but not proofs of karma or *samsāra*; it seems to be felt that if the materialist is refuted, and the existence of a soul proved, these doctrines follow. The only proof I can find comes in ChU 5/10.8. If it were not for transmigration, the other world, *asau lokah*, would be filled up (and there would be no room for any immigrants, so that people couldn't die, or else the ghosts would pile up here). It is extraordinary to think that the suggestion that *samsāra* can account for the supply of souls for human bodies is never made — though a high rate of stillbirths and pre-weaning mortality might throw doubt on the unfailing supply.

We may now consider the second of the Indian pair, the doctrine of the act, *karma(n)*, a condensed phrase for the effect of the act. The first mention of karma with transmigration is generally taken to be BrU 3/2-10-3. However,

it is worth while taking a careful look at the passage, since the usual translations follow Śāṅkara and so view the passage in its classical rather than contemporary context. Moreover the chapter has been retouched, and some disorder remains.

In ·1-9 we have the senses asserted (plus hands and speech for the sake of ·13); the senses are elsewhere known at this time as breaths, *prāṇa*, so that ·11 should come next; When a man dies, do the breaths/senses go out of him or not? (cf 4/4·2, where they collect in the heart (cf 4/3·19, 2/1·17), and they do get out, but the author is not sure by what aperture). The answer here is that they do not get out, The breaths/senses are led down together in him/here (pointing to the heart), and the man swells up, he is blown into, and lies dead blown into/inflated. This is not a satisfactory answer, for it is not accepted that the soul stays there; so we should take next 10, with reasoning that the soul/senses are there in the power of death; if they are not going to stay in the corpse, how are they to get out? ·10 now tells: Since everything here is food of death, of what Power is death the food? The answer was, 'Death is the food of fire (fire the food of water), a man/it repels redeath.' Something has clearly happened to the text, for as we have it, it says, 'Death is fire,' which does not answer the question. We remember BrU 6/2 14, cf. 5/11·1; the dead was released to the brahmaloka or samsāra by the funeral pyre; thus fire may be said to eat death, and the reference to redeath is relevant. For *agnir vai mṛtyuḥ so'pān annam āpa punar-mṛtyum jayati* read *āger vai mṛtyuḥ/r annam so'pa punar-mṛtyum jayati*. I suspect that the reference to water is a gloss; it is not relevant at this point, though the general statement is true that water quenches fire, and so can be said to eat it, — there is no sign of it being used to quench the pyre. Of the emendation *āger* I am much more sure. We do not need to assume a change of subject; nor need we assume loss of *ya evam veda* 'who knows thus' it (not 'a man') repels redeath/death again.

When one goes to a sensual paradise it is assumed that he takes his senses with him — he is after all there to enjoy himself. But there had been reassessment of the nature of the self, and though it recalls them all at death into the heart which itself evacuates, they are its qualities rather than its essence, and so may be lost. We may then ask, as is done in ·12, 'What does not, cannot leave a person?' The answer is 'The name; the name is eternal, all gods are eternal, one has eternity with it'. The relevance of 'all the gods' is that the dead are virtually minor divinities, that is the *pitṛs*, (for those who have any, i.e. the Aryans) are; and the *brāhmaṇa* is already putting forward his claim to be a living divinity. Read *viśve, devāḥ* not the conventional *Viśvedevāḥ* 'The All-gods are eternal,' from which it is very hard to extract meaning. It will be seen that this analysis is very close to Buddhism; Buddha analyses things as name and form, *nāmarūpa*, and the name can fairly represent the transmigrating entity

since the form obviously does and can not. Here the *puruṣa* is the transmigrating entity, at least what is left after the body, and it is virtually identified with the name.

But while the name/soul may be alive, what happens to it? This we are told in -13. When man is dissolved into his elements, and his speech goes to fire, his breath to air, his sight to the sun, his mind to the moon, his hearing to the quarters, his body to earth, his *ātman*, self, to ether, his hairs to vegetation, and his blood and semen are deposited in the waters, then where is the soul coming to be? Yājñavalkya replies "We will not say this in public" and retires with his questioner. They two went out and discussed. We now have the crux; the usual translation is "What they said was karma, what they praised was karma; one becomes good by good action, bad by bad action". This translation is faulty, as the last clause should be in inverted commas, but it hardly makes praise; *pra-śaṁs* might be better translated proclaim, but as it was done in private, there could hardly be a proclamation; It is perfectly legitimate to translate as follows "when they said, it was a rite indeed they said; when they praised, it was a rite indeed they praised, saying 'One comes into being auspicious with an auspicious rite, and inauspicious with an inauspicious rite/fill rite' (i.e. it would be possible e.g. to procure an inauspicious birth for an enemy by a *pāpam karma*, evil rite; the belief in transmigration has been accepted, and it poses a new situation, that a rite against re-death will no longer do, but there is a real danger of getting born inauspiciously, e.g. if a hog or *candāla* should eat the vegetable, and this must be taken care of. Like any other ritual of the *brāhmaṇas*, it could be taken care of either way, the *brāhmaṇa* could make or mar and this gives a context for the secrecy. There is no reason for a moral doctrine to be secret, but there is professional tradition that trade secrets are not publicized, and the *brahmins* were careful about whom they taught.

It will be seen that while the classical moral karma is arguable for this passage, it is not demonstrable, and indeed the pre-moral karma, which if not moral, must be ritual, is preferable. We suspect that the moralization of karma is an achievement of Buddha. It would follow either from the rejection of sacrifice, or from the widening of the idea, the conception of the *ṛta* as the cosmic sacrifice. The effects of karma were undeniable to *brāhmaṇas* in so far as *karman* meant ritual action: they might fade, only unlike the modern manufacturer who makes his goods not to last for fear of a slump, the *brāhmaṇa* was always seeking a rite, *karman*, that would really last against re-death, *punararmṛtyu*. If life is going to be thought of as a ritual, then all actions will have effects. The doctrine of karma could not be universally acceptable, since it would be unequal if not unjust, until it was moralized. And this is simply done by using the word karma in its generalized and untechnical sense, subsuming all actions, not just ritual ones under the doctrine.

The innate moral sense, the demand that action and reaction should be equal and opposite must be satisfied; yet the unfairness of life, more flagrantly the success of the wicked can only be compensated after death, since most of us have not enough charity to regard death itself as a punishment—it does also punish the good. Yet the moralization of karma is slow, just as the achievement of a universal ethic has always been slow, since the normal course of events is not to object to evil effectively until it affects one's self; the moral indignation necessary can too easily degenerate into self-righteousness, and even if disinterested lose authority as incredible. But in India the obstacle is the intellectual prejudice in favour of knowledge; knowledge is no guarantee of goodness, and certainly has no charity for those who don't have it. The danger of the conceit of knowledge is constantly in the Indian mind; the great Śvetaketu is satirized for it in ChU 6/1.2 there is an interesting gradation lack of conceit in BrU 6/2, his modicum in the parallel (later) ChU 5/10, and good supply in the still later ChU 6/1. Sometimes the moral is pointed in what to us is a puerile way, but the point is genuine; e. g. ŚpB XIV 1/1.1ff, TA 5/1.1 ff; Through understanding the sacrifice Viṣṇu became the greatest of the gods; this went to his head, so that he became so puffed up with glory that he became intolerable to his colleagues, but too dangerous to attack. But one day the ants, having been promised the ability to find water even in the desert, undertook to gnaw his bowstring as he lay with his head resting on the bow; it broke with such violence as to cut off his head which became the sun. (Here we might note the amoral conception of deva, there is nothing blasphemous in imagining a god being below the moral ideal. We might also note the folk-story element, in that Viṣṇu has no supernatural powers when they might interfere with the story, he is treated in it as an ordinary human being, who can be tricked when asleep).

As we said, it was hard to moralize karma; indeed it is never fully done, for we find ritual offences or inadvertencies being quite as disastrous as downright wickedness, e. g., Vas. DhS 6 27 a brāhmana who dies with a Śūdra's food in his belly may become a village pig if he is not reborn as a Śūdra — caste must be upheld (though we must remember that caste to the Indian is also morality); or in fiction, an inadvertent offence in a past life may involve the hero's misfortune (in this case, the prestige of his perfection is saved).

Yet there is also for one thing the belief that the will at death can control the next transmigration. We saw this in BrU 4/4.4, the soul made for itself an other more beautiful form; in ChU 3/14.1, (cf ŚpBX 6/3 1, having how great a will he leaves this world, having just such will on death he enters yonder world), having what will/purpose a man becomes, thus having gone hence (died), he becomes. Dying is a magical state, hence the soul is in nearer and more fearful contact with the supernatural; the modern survival of this idea is the special force felt attached to a wish of the dying. This passage explains the

name Kratujit, attested 880 BC, he who wins his kratu, will, and so will be secure in the next world. But c 200 BC BhG 8-6 the thought at death is still important, and Nāgasena the Buddhist in the Milindapañha of 1st cent. BC can say, 'If I die when I am thinking of life, I will be reborn.'

It is very hard for the ritual and intellectual class to abandon ritual, knowledge, and intellect. It is easiest to abandon ritual, since intellectual ritual can be substituted for it. The effect of ritual acts after death hardly needs illustration; doubtless originally the sacrificial act was enough. So we find ŚpB II 3/3 8-12 (with an unusual threat of many deaths in yonder world) the performer of Agnihotra after sunset, before sunrise escapes the usual fate of men, re-death in the next world, since their good (ritual) deeds wear out. But once knowing the rite became effective, and even once the assertion of knowing sufficed for the act, then the result of the act/sacrifice could only be accurately forecast if one knew the *vidyākarmāṇi*, the amount of knowledge and rite that went into it. So, another of the innumerable nostrums, all equally decisive, BrU 1/2-7 He who knows that the *arku* and *ātvamedha* (hymn/ray and horse-sacrifice) are one divinity, death, avoids re-death: 1/5-2 by offering milk for a year — nay, at once the thus-knower escapes re-death. So does he in 3/3-2 who knows *vāyu* (wind, air breath) is individual and collective, *vy-* and *saṃ-*asti. But who can be sure he is without sin or ritual omission? So in ChU 5/10-10 he who knows the 5 fires thus is not stained by consorting even with the most depraved characters: knowledge may overcome karma. Knowledge of brahma obliterates it in BrU 4/4 22-3; what he has or has not done does not affect the knower.

When we are told that knowledge and ritual determine the reward at death. e.g. KausU 1.2, BrU (insertion) 4/4 2, these are not originally co-ordinated paths, but rather alternatives. But while it needed a proper ritual to get going on the path of samsara to a happy return, if any return ceases to be happy, because life is pain, it is easier to drop the ritual and concentrate on knowledge. But knowledge is a brahmin monopoly (or should be), and the human need of hope must return to karma; most cannot afford the ritual karma, or are not qualified for it: but everyone can perform moral karma, action, (and normally believes he does). We can now see that however tyrannical the idea of karma becomes, it begins as a liberation, and equalizer, just as samsāra did also. The subsequent tyranny begins from the logical extension, the inevitability of fruits of anything definable as action. The moralization of karma is achieved by reducing the ritual, and devaluing the physical; it is a concession to the emotional, the same emotional that when the liberation goes sour, turns to deism.

The physical pleasure must always be depreciated by the intellectual or spiritual. The intellect is not likely to undervalue knowledge, and on knowledge the brāhmaṇa can concentrate. The devaluation of material things is at least

partly pre-Buddhist, and probably totally so for the effective thinking brahmins, though it is undoubtedly popularized by the heresies. So BrU 4/4.22, 'Even good desires like the desire for sons are still desires; one rises above desires.' Or Ib.12 'if one knew the Ātman, wanting what, for desire of what would he consume the body (anu-sam-jvar) / seek after a body (-car)?'

But if we do transcend the physical, it is the intellectual that replaces it and knowledge has its reward. Now it does not control the fate in samsāra—that is no longer wanted—but takes you out of it. This is practically the Buddhist (and Jain) position; one is not out of transmigration till enlightenment. This is the stage of BrU 4/4 triṣṭubhs, .8-9, .13-4, .18; (e.g. .8, the knowers of brahma go up to the heavenly world released—an old verse is being reused.) As for the rest, the brāhmaṇa who knows and so can win release, does not really have to be interested in them. General statements suffice; so in BrU 4/4.11 those who do not know go to worlds of blind darkness, .19 to death after death. The early Katha U. takes the same position (KathU 1 or 1/1-3 or 1-3; early 5th cent. BC?), e.g. 1/2.6. The fools who deluded with wealth, think there is only this life, die again and again: so also 2/1.2, the fools who go after outward pleasure. Ib.1/3.7 he who has no discrimination, no mind, always dirty, does not get to Brahma's place, but always samsāra, while he who has discrimination and mind, always clean, does and is not reborn (clearly life is not very far from undesirable at this point).

There is an ethical and moralizing strain that demands expression. So in Katha 1/2.23-4 Ātman is not won by much teaching, intellect or scripture, but reveals himself to whom he chooses; nor will he choose anyone who has not ceased from bad conduct, and a man of unpeaceful mind cannot attain ātman by mere intelligence. The moralist is active in (the inserted) BrU 4/4.5, but whether asserting, protesting or arguing is not at first clear. We suggest the reasoning is as follows: The self is made of everything; (it has therefore all potentialities:) one becomes according to his action and behaviour, the good-doer becomes good, the evil-doer evil, quoting 3/2.13. One becomes auspicious by auspicious (rite)/act, inauspicious (bad) by inauspicious (bad) (rite)/act. Objection: The soul depends on the motive (*kāma* mayā *evāyam* *puruṣaḥ*, this soul is consisting of/conditioned by the intention only). Answer: According to his desired/intention, so his will; as his will, so his act; as he does, so he becomes. This may just be a statement of the effect of ethical conduct or otherwise on one's self. However, in KathaU 2/2.7 morality and Karma seems to be co-ordinated in determining the next existence; souls enter a stationary or living womb, that is, plant or animal, *yathākarma yathāśrutam*, translated by Hume 'according to their deeds, according to their knowledge', by Radhakrishnan, 'according to their deeds and thoughts'; actually this should surely mean 'according to their deeds, as has been scripturally revealed'.

While karma is moralized, the attempts to systematize the results of various vices, and let the punishment fit the crime are rather grotesque, and can be certainly said to lack humour. If leprosy/skin-disease is the result of fornicating one's teacher's wife, this enormity must have been an exceedingly common crime, and teachers must have seen to it that they always had a young wife. Defiling the teacher's bed is above all a brāhmana crime, hence so unthinkable, but the skin-disease consequent is common enough (Vas. DhS. 20.43-4): ib. 6.27 accounts for the multitudes of śūdras and village pigs, brāhmaṇas who have had such a poor sense of their duties and privileges as to die with a śūdra's food in their belly: ib 21.11 a brahmin female who drinks *surā*, liquor, becomes a leech or pearl-oyster; and loses her husband. And so on. Manu follows, elaborating considerably in his sūtra, MDhS 12.52-80. No wonder Indian political theorists had so little faith in human nature when so many of the highest caste could be recognized fallen from grace! How soon such systematizing began we cannot say, but it seems to be after Baudhāyana of c 500 BC.

The acceptance of moralized karma by its logical extension leads to the question of free-will, and the nature of the deed; we have just seen the doubt in BrU 4/4.5. Is it only the action that counts, or is it only the motive? It is much easier to save one's prestige with good intentions, and thus we find in Indian stories the good guys' errors are all in ignorance or inadvertence. But if we become good by good action and bad by bad action, since being bad is going to make worse karma, whose fault will it be? Will it not be inevitable? These controversies are being waged in the formative years of the heresies, and Purana Kassapa, (ob. 504 BC?) denies that any actions increase guilt or merit, while Makkhali Gosāla is a rigid determinist (ob. 488). In spite of the fact that Kṛiyavādas, doctrines that human freedom is possible, have been officially prevalent in orthodoxy and heresy alike, karma has tended in fact to create fatalism and determinism, often of a tragically uncharitable kind, as e.g. a widow has an only son, who had a small boy; the boy died age 5; the widow turns on the mother of the child, because it is *her* karma that deprived the widow of her grandchild. Equally uncharitable was the Jewish tendency to 'karma' when the disciples can ask Christ 'Did this man sin, or did his parents?'

Once the doctrine of karma and transmigration is accepted, there becomes remarkably little that gods can do. If they can interfere with karma, there is no order in the universe, or if your karma is good, it won't need gods to help. There is no reason to deny gods save as an unnecessary entity in the explanation of the universe; but as they never did explain the universe, but were rather part of it, this does not apply; indeed the Veda vouches for them and though with the conception of ātman/Brahma they can hardly be held a necessary conception, the brāhmaṇa never rejects. Being in saṃsāra, they are of no higher essence than ourselves, and therefore there is no need to moralize them. So in the here-

sies also, there is no need to deny brahmanic gods, and in this sense it is ridiculous to say that Buddha was an atheist. Here the gods are just irrelevant to the questions of life; even if they can give a boon, it is only a material boon, which as part of the fettering desire is part of man's own fault anyway. But at least to the popular mind, it is hard to believe that gods don't enjoy themselves, and while the old gods may remain faded, new gods of classical and Purāṇa Hinduism or Buddhism come up from below. So a birth as a god becomes one of the possibilities of saṃsāra—it takes good karma, and at least later a heretic arhat can enjoy a spell in such a heaven before entering on the last lap—Buddha himself came down from the Tusita heaven.

No proof is ever given of the doctrine of karma. Materialists naturally deny it, Ajitakeśakambalin in Buddha's time, and Cārvākas after. Both seem to be sufficiently refuted by refuting materialism. Such people are reported only by their enemies, and therefore liable to be misreported. So when Pūrāṇa Kassapa taught that actions neither increase guilt or merit, he may be saying that knowledge puts one beyond good and evil, as was being taught in his time, (BrU 4/4-23, ChU 5/10 10), or he may be saying that as actions are determined there can be neither merit or demerit. When we remember the complete fatalism of Pūrāṇa's pupil, or successor Gosāla, this latter interpretation should be right; but when we find Pūrāṇa as denying karma any results, we might favour the former.

We should perhaps have said no Cartesian or Euclidean proof is ever given of karma. Scriptural warrant suffices, and we found it already in KathaU 2/2.7 (late 5th or 4th cent.?). Samsāra is equally proved by scripture for Śaṅkara, quoting BrU etc.; but if we must have a rational argument, he points out that karma, the maturation of the fruit of acts, could not work itself out if there was no transmigration. Since no proof is ever given of the effect of karma, Śaṅkara's argument is not self-contained, and the moral demand that Evil must be punished in the doer would be quite satisfied with a Zoroastrian Hell, requiring only that there be an entity after death to suffer. The modern argument against the Christian Hell is basically that the actions of a short time should not be punished for eternity, the reaction is excessive, not equal. But if there is transmigration, then the doctrine of karma can give a simple explanation of any of its manifestations. So neither the other systems before Śaṅkara, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika etc. nor Rāmānuja after him feel under any need to prove what everyone believes. Indeed a karma can be used to explain surprising things; so Rāmānuja can attribute to karma the fact that the same gives pleasure or pain to different people, or the same person at different times; this effect depends then not on its own nature but on karma. (He does not argue this as a proof of karma.)

But though there is no question of Karma working, there is some argument

among later thinkers on just how it works. So Rāmānuja (12th cent. AD) agreeing with all that karma springs from ignorance, *avidyā*, holds that karma being impermanent cannot be the cause of a permanent fruit such as *mokṣa*, release, is. Hence cessation of karma must be the cause of *mokṣa*; one must cease from acts. (This is effectively the view also of the Jains.) Karma is impermanent since it is not the collective power of all one's acts like the profit or loss on a company's accounting but the individual power of every act; since we all do good and bad acts, this adequately explains the mixed fortune that most of us have, how even a good man can suffer calamity.

Śaṅkara BrS 3/2 38 seems to say that the fruits of action are not from the action itself, *karmaṇaḥ*, but from God, *Īśvarāḥ*. Jain, Buddhist, Sāṅkhya and Mīmāṃsā would deny this; to them karma works by itself. The difficulty is something like that which arises for Christian and especially Mohammedan on the question, Is God subject to his own laws? If so by the delegated power he is no longer omnipotent; if not the law does not really exist, but is only his continual action in an (arbitrary) way. Śaṅkara argues; The action is past, therefore it does not exist; as non-existing, it is incapable of action, *e nihilo nihil fit*. If you say It only ceases to be on producing the fruit, the fruit is not fruit, *i.e.* does not exist till enjoyed by the experiencer, but the act has ended long since: nor apart from the act is there any substratum in which such a fruit could exist; and if there was, since it would be material and hence non-intelligent, it could not itself produce the action of maturation of fruit. Nor does the existence of the fruit of action prove the continuance of the action's existence, since God, *Īśvara*, is a sufficient explanation of that. There is no suggestion that anyone is going to be so presumptuous as to deny that acts produce fruit.

While karma may be moralized by orthodoxy to meet the challenge of the Buddhist emphasis on conduct, in its application to transmigration, the proof of this last is very different from the cause, which at all times is ignorance, *avidyā*, absence of knowledge, at first ritual knowledge (which would lead to the proper ritual acts, or the not necessarily moral brahma knowledge); but with the rise of the heresies and consequent development of philosophy, the deficiency is in philosophical knowledge, namely that one fails to realize the underlying unity of phenomena, the unreality of appearance; hence one desires the pleasures of appearances, *i.e.* the senses, and this leads to action, *karma*, the fruits of which lead to rebirth. The process is in great likelihood of being a vicious circle; so to Rāmānuja transmigration is the result of *avidyā*, ignorance, due to karma, past actions, and depends on name and form due to the soul's connection with non-sentient matter, which connection springs from good and evil works. Neither Jain or Buddhist would dissent from this statement of the problem, save that the Buddhist would classically insist on the non-continuity of the soul. But in Buddhism also, though the workings of its causal chain (of

12 links or less) are not too easy to understand, it is ordinarily taken that to Buddha *saṃsāra* is caused by *karma*, acts, which spring from desire/thirst, and this (wrong) desire is due to ignorance, a philosophic ignorance, in this case that there is no *ātman*. The cause of ignorance is not apparent in the causal chain; it is one of the *āśavas*, the other two being desire for existence and lust.

But if actions are the cause of action, that must be stopped, at some point we must be able to break into the circle. This can be done by knowledge. But this knowledge is not the mere verbal or intellectual acceptance of a series of verbal propositions corresponding to an objective reality; as in the earlier *brāhmaṇa* period, we must know by being, and knowledge implies a course of life. But it also practically follows that we cannot practise this knowing by being in ordinary life, it requires renunciation of the world, and so is in fact virtually open only to brahmins or old decrepit men. Hence we heretical monasticism, the quick road to being a brahmin; hence also the attempt of the *Gītā* to make release, *mokṣa*, available to non-brahmins (and perhaps not less important, non-practising brahmins), people engaged in worldly life, who cannot abandon it, through the doctrines of doing duty without thought of the fruits, and salvation by faith. The former can hark back to BrU 4/4.5, the person is conditioned by the motive, the act is in the motive, and so if there is no motive there will be no act to bear fruit, but *brāhmaṇa* caste-society can still go on.

The argument if we have all these past existences, why can we not remember them does not seem serious in India. There was an extraordinary case soberly reported in McLeans in 1965 of an Indian child who did know he had been somebody else. But on the one hand, if *manas*, mind, is only an other sense like sight, and so dissolved like our ordinary five, the question why we do not remember presents no difficulty; we do not have the memory any more than the body of our last existence. On the other hand, the great men, released in life, *Jīvanmukta*, Buddha, Mahāvira, Gosāla do have such memory; in the omniscience of their enlightenments (but not before), they, and all like them according to their scriptures, do remember their numberless past existences. For ordinary people it is said that the memory is there in embryo, but lost on the pain of birth. Buddha though spared by a miraculous birth did not remember till enlightened. Pythagoras too remembered and recognized his shield as Euphorbus before Troy, and it was left to the sceptics to smile. The objection is probably much more serious to the modern mind.

As usual, in the final belief everything is added without much fear of inconsistency. In both *Gītā* (c. 200) and *Mahābhārata* (1st cent. BC & AD?) e.g. in the story of Jaratkāru, ancestors fall to hell if offerings are not made to them; we still find quoted with serious approval the magical etymology of *putra* = son, so called because he saves his father from the hell called *put* (what would

happen there to father no one ever knew). No attempt is made to fit this doctrine into that of karma and samsāra, though for any event there is the irrefutable and cyclic answer. He/They must have deserved it, or it wouldn't/couldn't have happened. This does disturb an Āpastambiya in ApDhS II 9/24.13, who asks if ancestors fall to hell by their descendants' misdemeanours, why are the 7 ṛṣis (Pleiades) still patently visible in heaven?

Theories of punishment, or rather, schemes, seem also to be added rather than co-ordinated. So manu tells us that one who steals milk becomes a vulture, one who steals sour milk becomes a crane. This however would not set him off again in human life with a clean slate; he would be born in a human womb of the appropriate scale of demerit. So on the plus side, in MBh & BhG the dead stay in the world of the pitṛs till their merit is exhausted, and are then reincarnated in accordance with that same merit. So in the rather confused Manu DhS 12.18-24 (2nd cent. AD) after the appointed torment one seems to be free of stains, and again enters the 5 elements, *i.e.* is reborn; but there is no indication of him now getting a fair chance. Karma can only be exhausted in this life as a human. Presumably a hen can't work off its karma because it is incapable of suicide; the animal is inevitably under animal instincts, which are themselves the cause of fresh karma: this will be so even though the animal is performing its dharma, duty, of eating and being eaten, and propagating—indeed an animal could hardly not perform its dharma.

It does not look as if Manu thinks the animal state is any reward. one is even threatened with becoming the animals one has eaten. And literature does not record any joyful anticipation of becoming even a cow. Yet by transmigration, there is an equation of animal and man, which is very important in its consequences for Indian ethos. There is no question of animals being made for the benefit of man, or man having sovereignty over them. Yet as in much social levelling, the result is rather to degrade man than raise animals. One might say the child's attitude to them remains; this is shown by the animal Jātakas and fables, which are certainly from the popular levels of thought; and if it is said that animal saures are always politically/ideologically safer, this is only part of the story in India. By the child animals are conceived as behaving very much as human beings, and though there is much wisdom, and even co-operation in nature, the animal stories have only a very faint realism; the interest in animals does not lead to any science or natural history. It is essentially an emotional interest, not a rational one, and in this sense one of the indulgences that strengthen sexual interest of Indian society. The procreative is conspicuously animal, and while it may be well not to have a guilt about it, some other inhibition is necessary. Indulgence removes the need of sublimation, and in lack of guilt also removes the inhibition of respect. In insisting on the equality of man with

animal, we also emphasize the animal nature of man, and throwing him back into the competition of nature, deny his title to respect, and also reduce woman to the tool, since the instinct demands her submission. The frank enjoyment of sex may be highly modern, but it does very little for its devotees; neither men nor women gain by it, since it must be selfish. This is true of any interest that is essentially sexual, and not sublimated. So the Indian interest in the procreative life, exemplified in the animal world, did nothing for animals, and very little for man, who has frequently suffered economic and health loss in the cause, e.g. animal damage to crops, overgrazing by diseased cows, etc. Yet animal worship, perhaps paradoxically, is not Indian — they were no more worth it than man, or even these other creatures of *samsāra*, the old Vedic gods. *

It might be said that the belief in karma and *samsāra* removes urgency from human life, as it removes tragedy. If all is just, and even injustice can be argued as deserved, where is the reason for initiative? Injustice may be condemned in the doer, as *a-sat*, not good, but not from love of the victim. If everyone must cope with his own karma, how can there be help or salvation? The Jains agree that there can be none, as did the Hinayana Buddhists, and the orthodox protest is found in the theisms. It is not possible to forge in a rationally justifiable connection between souls; for while compassion may be admirable in us, it cannot affect the maturing karma of our neighbour, which is unalterable.

Here again we have a paradox, for while we might say the logical conclusion of this ideology should be, 'Everyone for himself, ending in an extreme individualism, the only individualism that has in fact been encouraged is that of renunciation.' If one is going to be someone else tomorrow, it cannot be of great importance to be himself today; any self is equally an illusion, hence there can be no compulsion for its individual expression. There is no danger of being annihilated, which is the great fear of modern man. Just as the Christian or Islamic believer could be sure of paradise, and so scorn death, so the Indian might have a less agreeable prospect, but no greater cause for fearing death, if his future was not very promising, his past had not had that much to recommend it, since life is pain.

But while this pessimism of karma is well-known, we must also remember that karma is never final. Āpastamba (c. 200 BC) can say (DhS II 5/11 10-1) that people of low caste will be reborn in higher if they do caste and ritual duties — better one's own done badly than another's well —, and not less gratifying to human nature, those of high caste will be reborn low if they fail in theirs. Gosāla had taught that all creatures progress to perfection (inevitably, and over an almost infinite time); the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is going to 'save all; and Śāṅkara knows a view (perhaps under Buddhist influence) that

gradually all souls will attain release. In a brahmanic world this guarantees them good caste status on the way. Hope may be taken as a promise by the poor; and while we may have brahmins satirized in the popular literature, and fables and proverbs may be unsparing of men in all classes, there is no sign of dissatisfaction with the conception of karma allied to samsāra. Its argument may be circular, just as the universe is cyclical, but it proved a satisfactory circle, socially and intellectually, even if emotionally we hear the rumblings of impatience.

JĪVA, ITS MOVEMENT AND UPLIFT

By

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From the experiences of the past, as revealed through authoritative texts and personal experiences of the great ancient seers (ṛṣis), it is found that the whole universe consists of only two elements, called *Tattva* or energy. It may be given any name by the scientists or the philosophers of the world. The two *Tattvas* are (1) *Cetana* (Conscious Energy) which is eternal, ubiquitous (vyāpaka), omniscient (sarvajña), omnipotent (sarvasaktimāt), omnipresent (sarva-viśva-vyāpin) transcendent (viśvātīta) and imminent (āsanna-vartin). It is no doubt, an all-powerful, permanent and eternal force, but is inactive (niškriya) by its very nature. (2) The other entity, called *Prakṛti*, is also equally eternal, ubiquitous and omnipresent, but is inert (jaḍa-Inert Energy). It is the state of equilibrium of the three forces—*Sattva* (Force of Light), *rajas* (Force of motion) and *tamas* (Force of inertia) when unmanifest (avyakta), but comes to manifest ultimately the five bhūtas (substances), namely—ākāśa, vāyu, tejas, water and earth. These three forces are most essential for the existence in this universe. So the Lord also had to take recourse to all those (*Gītā*, IV-6). Even then it is ever in motion. It is, therefore, that the Lord has said (*Bhagavadgītā*, II-5) “No object remains actionless even for a moment; every object (except *cetana*) is forced to do action under the impulsive force of the Nature, which consequently, is also itself ever in motion.

Both these two energies (*Tattvas*) have ever been in existence independent of each other. Though none of these two is aware of the presence of the other, yet it is a fact that both of these unconsciously, receive mutual assistance to help the existence and functioning of the universe together with all its constituents. They are also not aware if there is any relation of whatsoever nature between them. However, it is a fact that the *Inert Energy* gets impulse and remains in motion because of the indifferent inducement (preraṇā) of the *Conscious-Energy*. Thus, it is obvious that one is a conscious and permanent, eternal and indifferent force of inducement, while the other is induced due to the very presence of the Conscious Energy; though by nature it itself is inert, yet, it is ever in motion and makes the entire world move for the good of the Jivas occupying every space in the universe.

Under the influence of these two energies, for the good of the Jivas, a third element called *Bindu* comes to exist and thus produces the first triangular form (trikoṇākṛti) in the universe. These elements again, subsequently, give rise to the infinite forms (ākṛtis—organic and inorganic) which are being produced incessantly in the universe. On examining these forms, it is evident that there is some sort of natural force coming out of the various subsequent lower

elements, namely, earth, water, tejas, air, and ākāśa, to group the articles of the organic or inorganic bodies, helped under the *Law of Affinity* in order to form different objects. The grouping itself is also under certain definite influence of the past. The elements do not group by chance; they are all related as cause and effect. Of these forms, those which become organic immediately and simultaneously manifest consciousness and are called Jīvas. Unless the grouping of the elements forms the organic bodies, they do not serve any obvious purpose of the universe, either for themselves or for others.

The Lord who rules over the universe has nothing to do in this universe for himself. He is *Āptakāma* and *Ātmārāma*. He does not take any active and partial part (*āśhīka*) in the forming of the organic bodies and creation of the universe. The universe goes on and on even without any active inclination of the Lord. The Lord is, however, very eager to uplift the jīvas. He is the *uddhāraकर्त्ता*, so His omnipresence, either in full bloom and vigour or in part (*āśhā*) is ever ready to let the grouping continue in accordance with the past deeds of the experiencing (*bhoktr*) Jīvas, till eternity for the good of the Jīvas themselves. Without *bhoga* the Jīvas cannot be free from miseries. And yet there is no end to the universe. It goes on, followed by another, till eternity under the influence of the endless and beginningless deeds of the Jīvas and the *vāsanās* produced thereafter from them.

Thus, it is evident that the grouping is the most important factor. The various elements which form the body group together with some definite purpose. This, again, is due to some previous force. As this is continuous and moves like a wheel without any end, it assumes indefinite forms in accordance with the nature of the purpose to be served by the groupings. So naturally one group is different from the other. There is also difference of degree among them, such as—highest, higher and high and lowest, lower and low, and, likewise, those occupying the midway places in the universe. These differences in degree are also due to the nature of the past deeds of the Jīvas.

Again, the force inducing the grouping from behind is itself the result of some previous force, called *Vāsanā*, which again, itself is the product of the past deeds of the Jīvas. This process is beginningless and endless. It was, therefore, that the Lord has said to Arjuna (*Bhagavadgītā*, IV. 5) that both of them have assumed endless forms in the past and certainly, will assume forms without number in future also. These forms change from time to time experience the result of their past deeds. Again, as these deeds and their *Vāsanās* never totally disappear from the universe so the Jīvas also never disappear for ever. Nothing is lost; whatever exists does remain somewhere and in some form or other in the universe. So we can easily understand that all those various forms of Jīvas, such as, those of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣṭha, Yājñavalkya, and others who were present in the past ages are still present in some form or the other.

Similarly, even ordinary Jivas retain thin existence after their death in some form or the other. If they have great *tapas*, they must assume some higher organic forms. Again, as they had done from time to time different kinds of actions in their lives, they must appear in the universe in different forms from time to time in order to reap the fruits of those deeds through some congenial process required by the force of their deeds. We should not forget that action of the life of a Jiva is never lost. Hence, like the performance of the incessant deeds, the Jivas have to assume forms without number in different places and at different times in accordance with the nature of those deeds to facilitate their respective *bhoga*. Sometimes the higher Jivas have to take help of even *kāyavyūha* process to exhaust their *bhoga*. But that is immaterial as far as the mundane activity is concerned. Even if some Jivas become *mukta*, their number in the universe is never reduced; they are *ananta*. Even the Lord Himself has said in the *Gītā* (VII. 4-5) that He has to assume various forms in the universe from time to time for the benefit of the Jivas.

The nature and strength of these forms of Jivas can be determined in various ways— (1) by performing austere penances in order to become a *ṛṣi* by virtue of which alone one can visualise the truth, like so many *ṛṣis* of the past, (2) by observing the actions of the Jivas, as it was with the case of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and others, by ordinary persons, and lastly, through the yogic powers of the *pūrvajāta-jñāna* (*Yogasūtra*, III.18) by which also one can know all the previous facts of the previous birth of a Jiva; like Āvatya and Jaigīṣavya. These Jivas of higher or lower grade, are moving about all the time in the universe in some form or the other, sometimes even without a visible form with the help of the rays of the sun even. One can easily, if he likes, perceive them through some *tapascaryā* or yogic *siddhis* achieved previously. There have been persons even in the modern times who get vision of the Jivas, higher or lower, of the past. For all this one has to possess *śraddhā*, *ātmaviśvāsa*, faith in *Īśvara* and remain rigidly following the rules of conduct, prescribed for the life of a pure Jiva. He must abstain at least from taking dirty and adulterated food and drink, which mainly produce *Buddhi* and *manas*.

Some people are very eager to have a vision of higher or lower Jivas— either for their good or for the benefit of the suffering Jivas. The action may be explained in brief in the following manner: if the perceiving Jiva belongs to a higher status and is conscious of his spiritual force, he may relieve some other formerly higher Jivas now fallen and having come to assume the organic body of some lower Jiva or any creature by force of their evil deeds in the past births, from the miseries fallen upon them. The perceiving Jivas even with a little sympathetic look finish the miserable life of that fallen higher Jiva and make him resume his previous higher form. So has been said in the *Yogaśāstra* that even a human being by doing some evil deeds may fall down to assume the organism

of a lower creature in the next birth after death, but he can be freed by the intervention of a living higher personality. This will indeed be a case of *Deliverance* and thereby, he will be serving the best cause of the universe. If such Jivas are freed in a large number, the latter, can, in return, do much benefit to the universe. Then it has to be noted that for the deliverance the *uddhāraka* or *jñānī* person concerned must have a very great spiritual force at his disposal. He will have to lose a portion of his spiritual power in making the other suffering Jiva free from miseries. We, in India, are quite aware of the fact that the result of the spiritual actions are easily transferred to others and thereby the miseries are removed or lessened to a certain degree. This is not a very difficult task. It is very common in our life. So it does not appear to be strange for us. But even then ordinarily no spiritually higher Jiva would like to use his own powers for the benefit of others howsoever great or small he may be, at large. Every Jiva is busy with his own-self. It is therefore, the Upaniṣads say that one should free oneself from the worldly bondage. But this does not exclude the possibility of the actions of the spiritually higher Jivas in transferring the results of bad deeds of the other Jivas upon their own shoulders for the good of others and exhausting them at the cost of their own powers. The lost powers [will be compensated by further more austere penances. This may be again, through the *preraṇā* of the Lord who is alone the *Uddhārakartā* and is also present in everything.

It has to be kept in mind that ordinarily, even the higher Jivas Present in this world, in any organic form, are not able to achieve any extraordinary result with great success through their present bodies. Their present body is also a product of their past deeds through which alone they can do some definite action for some definite purpose. It is limited in powers and can function for other only to a limited extent. All this is obvious from their day to day action. Then again, in order to make them assume their lost original higher form at the risk of their spiritual power and do some better deeds or help the universe in the realisation of peace or bliss, it is necessary to change the world order as was done by Viśvāmitra and others in the past. But this is almost impossible at present and if tried even to a little extent may have a great clash with the *Natural order* in the world, for the *Nature* may not help him at present. The Jivas come to the universe for some definite purpose with definite congenial facilities.

Lastly, it may be pointed out that those who indulge in the task of *deliverance* will be fighting against the *laws of Nature*. *Nature* has produced the Jivas and is giving them unobstructed passage for their long journey in order to make them free from miseries and bondage; and if anybody comes to put obstacles in their way, he will have to bear the consequences upon himself. If he happens to be the highest Jiva, like Rāma or Kṛṣṇa, he will be glad to do so and his action will be helped even by the *laws of Nature*. It is therefore, that the Lord

Himself said in the *Gītā* (XI-66) that all the Jivas should take shelter in Him and He will relieve them from all the miseries. In case the delivering Jiva is of lower grade, he will fail to do any good to others and may ruin himself. One thing has been noticed that such deliverance is beneficial in cases of spiritual uplift, but the agency fails to achieve any success if he applies his powers for the material welfare.

No doubt, the Lord alone is *Svatantra* (independent), and is not by His nature interested in any action, even then under the influence of His own *Māyā*. He is the doer also. So has He said Himself—"Though I am not the doer, nor am I perishable, yet as far as the creation of the four castes is concerned, know Me as the doer" (*Gītā*, IV. 13). Again, under the same influence the Lord appears as Jiva in this universe. This Jiva within the limitations of *Māyā* manifests itself for *bhoga* of the results of the deeds of its past births and as such, it is under the force of its *Prārabdha-Karman* that it exists in this universe. But again, as it is the *aṁśa* of the Lord (mamaivāṁśo Jiva-loke Jivabhūtaḥ sanātanaḥ, *Gītā*, XV-7) It is also *svatantra*, to a certain extent and so it is capable of doing fresh deeds (*Kriyamāṇa*) for future. If the circumstances and facilities provided to the Jiva and if the Jiva is in good company all with good intentions (*bhāvaśuddhi*), so much so that the Lord ultimately asks the Jiva to take shelter under Himself leaving everything. All that the Jiva does will certainly lead it to the *Parama-Dhāma* wherefrom the Jiva never returns to this universe (*Gītā*, VIII-21). Thus, even being in bondage and experiencing the results of its past deeds (*Prārabdha-Karma*), the Jiva has some independence by which it can ultimately, uplift and release itself for ever. But one must remember that he will have to lead a very pure life, keep himself aloof from dirty habits, food and drink which are at the root of all our miseries and follow the rules of good conduct very rigidly and make his subtle body light in order that it can easily move upward (*ūrdhvagatiśīla*). Without following the conditions of *Tapas*, the Jiva can never achieve the highest aim of its life. No doubt, the Jiva has to undergo great hardships, but no good can ever accrue without *Tapas* (*Tejas*), life of hardship, which alone can destroy its dirt, so has been said by the Lord—*Jñānāgniḥ Sarva-Karmāṇi bhasmasāt kurute tathā* (*Gītā*, IV. 37).

DEVAYÁNT- AND DEVAYÚ

By

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As is well known the meanings of the many religious and philosophical terms occurring in Vedic texts as given in our dictionaries are often inexact or no longer abreast of the times. It would for instance appear to me that the sense of the participle *devayant-* is not exactly "religious, loving or serving the gods" (Monier—Williams), "den Göttern dienend, sie verehrend" (Grassmann), "sich and die Götter haltend, den Göttern dienend, fromm" (Petr. Dict.), "fromm, gottergeben, gottverlangend" (Geldner)—translations which suggest a more or less permanent quality or trait of character—, but rather "approaching, turning to, applying to, the gods by ritual means, whilst executing the rites, in order to come into contact with them, to make an appeal to them, to influence them, to invoke their help or co-operation". The difference may appear to be slight and the more or less traditional translations hardly worth disputing, —semantic accuracy however is a *conditio sine qua non* for a right understanding of the texts, and from the religious point of view this difference is not to be neglected.

The word occurs 50 times in the R̥gveda, in 12 cases in an opening stanza. There is one occurrence of the negated *adevayunt-* (translated by "godless" Geldner), in opposition to *devayant-* (2, 26, 1).

In injunctions and adhortations to start the performance of the rites a shade of meaning "pious, devout" is in itself less acceptable than "making an appeal to the gods": 3, 6, 1 stimulates the reciters to fetch, *devayantah*, the indispensable sacrificial ladle (Sāyaṇa explains by *devakāmāḥ* which means "longing for the gods" rather than "pious"). In 1, 40, 1 *ut tiṣṭha brahmanas pate devayāntas tvemahe*, lit. "rise, O Brahmanaspati, applying (to thee) we approach to thee with prayers" the participle and the principal verb reinforce each other, the former indicating the particular nature of the approach. The poet continues (st. 2) *tvā'm id dhī . . . mārtya upabrūtē dhāne hitē* "for thou art invoked by the mortal man when a prospect of valuable objects is held out". These valuables are, of course, to be obtained through the rites. The preparation and erection of the sacrificial stake which is, in 3, 8, 1, said to be anointed by the *devayantah* (*devān kāmayaṁānā adhvaryādayaḥ*, Sāyaṇa) in order to provide those speaking with valuable objects, is likewise a ritual act. In 7, 43, 1 the term cannot but apply to the singers, reciters or inspired poets (*viprāḥ*, Sāyaṇa), whose task it is to praise, on the occasion of the sacrifice, heaven and

earth, that these divine powers may come: *prā vo yajñēsu devayānto arcan...* An unambiguous place is also 1, 36, 1 *prā vo...viśā'm devayanti'nām | agnīm sūktēbhīr vācobhīr imahe yām sim id anyā i'fate* "we (i.e. the eulogists) approach on your (their patrons') behalf, with well recited words, Agni ... (the lord) of the clans who turn to the gods, (Agni) who is also implored by others": the *devayantah* obviously are engaged in praising and invoking as well as preparing the sacrifice.

The *devayantah* who are said in 5, 1, 4 to turn to the gods like the eyes of men to the sun are no doubt sacrificers and (or) officiants: cf. st. 1 and 2 mentioning the awakening of the god and the approaching morning rites. The tradition (Anukramaṇikā) that RV. 10, 13 is devoted to the two 'oblation receptacles' (i.e. the vehicles in which the soma plants are conveyed to be pressed) is in all probability correct; in st. 2 those who desire to praise and to worship the gods (*mā'nuṣā devayāntah: devakāmāḥ ... yajamānāḥ*, Sāyaṇa) are said to bring them forward in order to serve as a seat for soma. In the Agni hymn 10, 91, 9 it reads: "those who worship thee choose just thee, O Agni, as the sacrificial priest, ... when the *devayantah* (or, perhaps, they being *devayantah*) dish up pleasant food for thee, men who offer oblations and have spread the sacrificial grass (to receive the gods)", here Sāyaṇa is no doubt right: *devān yaṣṭum stotum icchantah*. His explication of 10, 17, 7 is similar; here the goddess Sarasvatī is invoked while the ceremonies are performed on the sacrificial place (*udhvarē tīyāmāne*). These words are followed by the prayer that the goddess may grant valuable objects to the man who is disposed to give to the gods (*dāṣuṣe*¹). The same person is also indicated by the term *sukṛi-* "performing one's religious (ritual) duties well and gaining merit by doing so"². According to Kauśika 81, 39 the stanzas 7-9, which also belong to the funeral texts of the Atharvaveda (18, 1, 41-43), are to be recited when the pyre is burning. The sūkta RV. 10, 30, the so-called *aponapriyūm*, is to accompany the ceremony of fetching the water needed for the preparation of the soma. In the final stanza (15), describing the arrival of the waters at the sacrificial place, the poet says that they have sat down, being *devayantiḥ*. Following Sāyaṇa Geldner translates "gottverlangend". Anyhow, the waters turn to the god, whilst attending the rites. There can be no doubt whatever that the "gottergeben" (*devayantiḥ*) human clans which whilst offering libations (*pruyasvatīḥ*) invoke Agni's flames (RV. 3, 6, 3) are, in point of fact, described as sacrificing or performing ritual work, not as being, in a general sense, pious or devout. That these mortal beings attempted to win over the same god who removes hostility to their side by means of their inspired hymns and eulogies appears from 4, 11,

¹ Cf. L. Renou, *Études Védiques et paṇinéennes*, III, Paris 1957, p. 16.

² I refer to the treatise 'World and heaven in the Veda', which is to be published by the Amsterdam Academy, Ch. XI.

5: *tvā'm agne prathamāṃ devayānto devām mārta ... d' vivāsanti dhībhih (devān icchantah, Sāyaṇa).*

In 4, 2, 17 those who kindle and fan the flames of the sacrificial fire are described as *sukārmāṇaḥ surūco devayāntaḥ* "expert performers of rites, 'shining brightly' and making an appeal to the divine powers". As the second adjective is as a rule used to characterize gods (Agni, cf. 1, 112, 1; Bṛhaspati, 1, 190, 1) Geldner's³ opinion that the poet refers to the eulogists who are identified with the Aṅgirasas might be modified: the poet describes the Aṅgirasas, the mythical divine ancestors of the priests who reiterate, nowadays, the activity of these prototypical officiants, an activity which, belonging to the mythical past, is exemplary and replete with power. The Aṅgirasas⁴ are Indra's and Agni's friends (3, 31, 3; 4, 1, 12 etc.); being sons of the gods or sons of heaven, they were also, in ancient times, seers and sacrificers. Accompanied by Indra they opened the stall and drove out the cows (Vala myth). A translation "pious" or "devout" would be out of tune here. In 9, 97, 46 the pressed soma juices are said to have streamed forth like the desire of the *devayantah kāmō nā yō devayantām āsarji*): it is true that this effusion may in itself be attributed to any devout worshipper,⁵ but in this soma hymn and especially in the group of stanzas to which the above words belong this interpretation is hardly worth considering. That the *devayantah* are actively occupied with the performance of the rites appears also from 1, 173, 4 *prā cyautnā'nī devayāntaḥ bharante* "the d. 'bring forward' their enterprises (*devān ātmana icchanto yajamānāḥ, Sāyaṇa*). In 9, 74, 8 the soma juices are said to have entered the pitcher while those who in their heart turn to the gods are hurrying along (*ā hinvire manasā devayantah, Sāyaṇa*). Geldner⁶ rightly compared 1, 77, 3 *cd tam (Agni) mēdheṣu prathamāṃ devayāntīr viśa ūpa bruvute dasmām āriḥ* with 8, 6, 27 *tām (Indra) tvā havīṣmatr viśa ūpa bruvata ūtāye*. In both cases the (Aryan) clans invoke the god, in the middle of a *sūkta*, or entreat him to assist them. The clans are respectively characterized as "offering oblations" and "turning to the gods" (*devān ātmana icchantyaḥ, Sāyaṇa*).

The assumption seems to be warranted that the *devayan* and *adevayan* in 2, 26, 1 are the man who worshipping and sacrificing actually applies to the gods and the man who does not. The former will, according to the text (*pāda b*), surpass the latter. Nay, he will, now denoted by the term *yajvā* "worshipper, sacrificer" (*pāda d*), distribute the objects of enjoyment of him who does not worship. Truthfulness, speaking in accordance with the essence of things is characteristic of a worshipper: he who states facts in the right way will pre-

³ K. F. Geldner, *Der R̥g-veda*, I², Cambridge Mass. 1951, p. 418.

⁴ See e.g. A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, Strassburg 1897, p. 142 f.

⁵ Thus also Renou, o.c., IX, Paris 1961, p. 50.

⁶ Geldner, o.c., I, p. 100.

vail over those who attack him (pāda a); he who is very attentive will overcome his enemy (pāda c). Compare 2, 25, 1: the man who kindles the sacrificial fire is said to prevail over those who plot against him; who cultivates the brahman and offers oblations will prosper. The same sense may therefore be adopted in 1, 41, 8 *mā' vo ghnāntam mā' śāpantam prāti voce devayāntam*, the more so as in 1, 40, 7 the devayant- who is protected against animosity is followed by a reference to the man who has spread the sacrificial grass. These two persons may very well be identical. RV. 7, 69, 4 the Aśvins, "whose chariot must approach" the *viśo devayāntīḥ* (st. 1 and 2), are said to assist and favour the sacrificers who again are referred to by the same term. The *viśaḥ* of st. 2 no doubt are clans engaged in the performance of sacrificial ceremonies (*yajamānān prāti*, Sāyana); cf. st. 3 inviting the gods to partake of the food and st. 5 imploring them to bring welfare and happiness on the occasion of "this sacrifice" (*yajñe*). From the context it appears that those who in 6, 1, 7 approach, well-possessed of vision (*sudhyah*). Agni in order to establish between the god and themselves a friendly relation (*sumnāyavah*) are also engaged in the performance of rites: in st. 6 the god is said to have taken his seat on the sacrificial place. Stanza 2 admits of the same interpretation: Agni sat down at the place of refreshment and the *nāraḥ... devayāntaḥ* approached him, attentive and desirous of the great treasure.

A sidelight is also thrown on the relation between the *devayantaḥ* and the god or gods to whom they turn by the Aśvin hymn 4, 44. 5 *mā' vām anyē nī yaman devayāntaḥ śaṃ yād dūdē nā'bhiḥ pūrvyā' vām*. After st. 4, which is an urgent request to partake of the sacrificial meal offered by those on behalf of whom the eulogist is speaking, and preceding st. 6 in which the god, who has always been proclaimed by these eulogists, is besought to give them many sons, st. 5 expresses the wish that no other worshippers may detain him because those speaking have first claim on his friendship. For a similar invitation see 7, 69 6. From Geldner's translation of 1, 190, 2 it is not perfectly clear that the words which come to Bṛhaspati are the ritual formulas and eulogies (cf. st. 1; 3) of which this god is the lord and generator (2, 23, 1; 2) Bṛhaspati, moreover, favours and protects the sacrifice (10, 35, 11; 128, 7) as he also promotes man's invitations to the gods (6, 73, 2). Sāyana: *yajamāna*.

Interestingly enough, the participle may also accompany words for the eulogies (*giro matāyāḥ*) which go to the god (*agnim yanti*) and ask for wealth (7, 10, 3); they approach the god as rivals (7, 18, 3). Sāyana (on 7, 10, 3) not incorrectly gives *devān icchantyāḥ*. Here also the meaning obviously is "turning to the god(s) and attempting to come into contact with him (them)". The eulogies, songs and recitations mentioned in these texts were, as far as we know, recited or executed as an element of the rites, not to voice the pious feelings of individuals outside the sacrificial sphere. The *devayantaḥ* who are in 1, 6, 6 alluded to in connection with the recitation of ritual stanzas which invite

the god Indra must therefore be active participants in the ritual activities. When therefore Agni is (10, 69, 7) expected to radiate among the Sumitras, this family, being described as *devayantah*, is in this context also represented as sacrificing : cf. st. 1; 3; 4. A considerable part of the final stanzas of the *sūktas* attributed to Medhātithi (1, 12-23) are characterized by an appeal to the gods to accept the eulogies (1, 12, 12), an invitation (1, 13, 12), a prayer to comply with the wishes of the eulogists (1, 16, 9), a request to protect them (1, 21, 6) and other addresses of a decidedly ritual character. When therefore Agni is (1, 15, 12) asked to worship the gods (*devā'n... yaja*) on behalf of the *devayant*—this word seems, here also, to refer to those actually engaged on the sacrificial ground. Similarly 3, 10, 7; 3, 29, 12. In 5, 21, 1 the *devayant*—(*devakāmāya yajamānāya*, Sāyaṇa) is compared to Manu, who is repeatedly mentioned, not as a pattern of devotion or godliness, but as an ancient and exemplary sacrificer: 1, 31, 10; 1, 26, 4; cf. 8, 23, 13; 8, 10, 2 the sacrifice is said to have been prepared for him, and in 10, 100, 5 he is even identified with it. Agni who, as is well known, is frequently described as a priest is (10, 46, 10) not only addressed as the bearer of the oblations and requested to grant the eulogist strength, but also, as a *devayant*, given precedence. Sāyaṇa is not wrong in identifying the *devayantah* who 1, 9, 19 accord precedence to the *Āsvins* when the soma stalks are milked like cows and the songs are chanted, with the *ṛtvijah* (sacrificial priests). Likewise occupied in the ritual sphere are those mentioned in 7, 2, 5 who being *devayantah* (*devakāmā yajamānāḥ*, Sāyaṇa) open the doors for the divine powers. In 3, 8, 4 the inspired sages are said to set up the sacrificial stake. While being in their minds full of inspired thoughts (*dhīrāsah*) and being occupied with sacrificial work for the gods (*devayantah*). The adjective *dhīrāsah* characterizes the sages as having received the vision and inspiration needed for a successful performance of the rites. The same sages are in st. 5 described as performing (ritual) work (*apasah*) and the *viprah* ("inspired priestly eulogist") raises his voice while being *devayāḥ* "turning to the gods". Geldner⁷ may be right in assuming a case of hypallage (the voice goes to the gods)⁸. In st. 6 those who dig in the stake or fashion it with the axe are again qualified as *devayantah*.

In explaining 1, 115, 2 *yātrā nāro devayānto yugā'nī vitanvaté* Sāyaṇa wavers between three possibilities. These words, he argues, mean, either: when the sun rises the sacrificers who wish to worship this luminary (*devam ... sūryam yaśtum icchantah*) "spread" the oblations to Agni etc., *yuga-* being a word for "time" and for "the (ritual) work to be performed at a definite time", or the (future) sacrificers are going to plough in order to earn 'money' for the rites, or *yugānī* means *yugmānī*, sc. *bhūtvā*, i. e. *patnībhiḥ sahitaḥ*. The second inter-

⁷ Geldner, o.c., 1, p. 346.

⁸ Compare, in connection with *devayū-*, R.V. 8, 12, 11 (see also my book 'The vision of the Vedic poets', The Hague 1963, p. 186 f.).

pretation was in substance followed by Geldner⁹ whose explication was: "every morning the pious ones begin a new day's work". As, however, this explication conflicts with the above usage of the participle, Windisch¹⁰ and Oldenberg¹¹ may be followed in taking *yugāni* 'metaphorically'. The sacrifice is indeed often described as a vehicle (see e.g. 7, 34, 5)¹². Then the *devayantaḥ* are said to be engaged, in the early morning, with "putting the horses" before the vehicle, that is the daily rites. When the poet of 1, 121 puts, in stanza 1^a, the 'rhetorical' question whether Indra is the worthy and competent recipient for the *devayantaḥ*, he no doubt intends to say: the right recipient of the eulogies and oblations: compare st. 1^b "will he hear the praise of the Aṅgirasas?" and 1^d mentioning the sacrificial session. Those who describe themselves as starting a eulogy are in 7, 73, 1 at the same time *devayantaḥ*. As such they praise the Aśvins: *prāti stōmaṃ devayānto dādhānāḥ*. The term may also apply to those who formerly or for the first time introduced new ritual methods: thus 7, 47, 1 to the officiants (*adhvaryavaḥ*, Sāyana) who had, for the first time, made the water a draught for Indra. In stanza 2 those who *hic et nunc*, i.e. under the circumstances described, on the actual sacrificial place, are desirous of water call themselves likewise *devayantaḥ*. Interestingly enough, the term under discussion is in 1, 139, 3 used to qualify the *āyavaḥ* who are "ritual officiants, eloquent *viprah* (i.e. inspired priestly seers), makers of mantras, preparing the soma and the fire for the yajña-ceremony"¹³: these officiants are, in this stanza, said to invite the Aśvins with their hymns of praise.

In the Atharvaveda the word applies (12, 3, 18) to the rice which is ceremoniously prepared during the sava rites¹⁴: the pestle with which the rice is pounded is requested not to crush to pieces the rice-grain which turns to, or is to come into contact with, the gods: *mā' tandulām vi sārāṃ devayāntam*. This sacrificial substance is by the ritual acts to be transubstantiated and divinized and made the means by which the sacrificer is enabled to transcend the limitations of the finite human condition; it has by the Creator-god himself been transformed into the heavenly abodes in which the sacrificer is to enjoy the fruits of his ritual merits.¹⁵ The author of AV. 7, 27, 1 uses the participle in the usual way: the *devayantaḥ* purify themselves in Idā's footsteps: the Vaitānasūtra (3, 15) has this stanza accompany a libation to Idā in the parvan ceremonies.

⁹ Geldner, *loc. cit.*, I, p. 152.

¹⁰ E. Windisch, in *Festgruß an O. Böhtlingk*, 1888, p. 118.

¹¹ H. Oldenberg, *Rgveda, Textkritische und exegetische Noten*, I, Berlin 1909, p. 107.

¹² I refer to my paper 'Adhvarya', *Vishveshvaranand Indol, Journal*, 3, p. 163 ff.

¹³ H. W. Bailey, in *Bull. School Or. and Afr. Studies* 20 (London 1957), p. 41 ff.

¹⁴ See my book *The Savayajñas*, Amsterdam Academy 1965, esp. p. 81; 148.

¹⁵ The *Savayajñas*, p. 31 ff.; 38.

The words *agne prāhi prathamā devayatām* (VS. 17, 69 a; TS. 4, 6, 5, 2 a; ŚB. 9, 2, 3, 28 etc.) were far from incorrectly translated by Griffith¹⁶): "Foremost of those who seek the gods....." and by Eggeling¹⁷: "first of the godward-going"; Keith¹⁸ preferred: "first of worshippers".

The adjective *devayū-*¹⁹, which occurs beside the participle, expresses the same sense. Thus it combines with *yajamāna-* and *sunvāna-* "the one who presses soma" (RV. 8, 31, 16). In 10, 51, 5 mention is made of the *mānur devayūh* who wishes to sacrifice (*yajñākhāmah*). From RV. 6, 3, 1 f. it appears that the *devayū-* is the man who has sacrificed and exerted himself in matters of ritual interest. For the sense of the term in 5, 48, 2 which is at first sight vague and general, compare st. 3 showing that here again a sacrificer is meant. So he is in 1, 83, 2 *prācāir devā'sah prā nayanti devayūm*. In 5, 34, 5 d the *devayū-* is clearly contrasted with the man who does not press soma in pāda b. Cf. also RV. 4, 2, 7; 4, 9, 1; 6, 28, 2; 7, 93, 4; 8, 103, 7; 9, 11, 2; 9, 96, 24; 10, 106, 3. From 1, 154, 5 it appears that the successful sacrificers who revel in the presence of the god are likewise qualified as *devaydvaḥ*. Cf. 7, 97, 1 and AV. 8, 9, 13. This is not to contend that the word must always apply to the officiants who perform the manipulative part of the ritual acts. Whereas, in 10, 32, 5, *devayū-* refers, according to Sāyaṇa, to the hotar (*devān kāmaya māno hotā*) and in Baunack's view²⁰ to Agni, Geldner²¹ may be right in regarding it as pointing to the poet who with his inner eye penetrates the world of the gods.²² For Agni as a *devayū-* see RV. 10, 176, 3. Remarkably enough the adjective accompanies the noun *śocīmāsi*, the flames and glow of the sacrificial fire, which may be described as "turning to the gods" rather than "pious". The adjective may also qualify the soma which being pressed out is said to be intent on going to the gods or desirous of coming into contact with them²³: 9, 6, 1; 9, 17, 3 ("longing for the gods"²⁴); 9, 37, 1; 9, 43, 5; 9, 56, 1; 9, 97, 4 etc.

¹⁶ R. T. H. Griffith, The texts of the White Yajurveda, Banares 1927, p. 187

¹⁷ J. Eggeling, in The Sacred Books of the East, 43, Oxford 1897, p. 199

¹⁸ A. B. Keith, The Veda of the Black Yajus School, Cambridge Mass 1914, p. 371

¹⁹ See J. Wackernagel—A. Debrunner, Altindische Grammatik, II, 2, Göttingen, 1954, p. 469 f.

²⁰ Th. Baunack, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, 34, p. 560

²¹ Geldner, o c., III, p. 181.

²² See The vision of the Vedic poets, p. 202

²³ Rather than "loving the gods" (Renou, o c., VIII, Paris 1961, p. 5)

²⁴ S. S. Bhawe, The Soma-hymns of the Rgveda, II, Baroda, p. 960, p. 5.

RGVEDA AND HOMER'S EPICS

By

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It is worthwhile to compare and contrast the most ancient Indian and Greek literary documents in order to find out what was similar and different in their respective societies. In general one has to keep in mind that Greeks and Āryas spoke Indoeuropean languages, nomadised in similar times and under similar—not the same—circumstances. They reached their new homelands which were parts of the region of the Ancient Oriental kingdoms, the Panjab on its eastern and Mykene on its western borderline; both were in some way interconnected and of a similar cultural level. Their civilisation was of a higher level than that of the new-comers, these more or less pastoral Greeks and Āryas. These in turn were similar to each other as breeders of cattle and horse, cultivators who used the plough, coppersmiths and builders of war-chariots. Thus, the starting point of social development in Greece and India was astonishingly similar at nearly the same time.

But the social differences of ancient Greeks and Āryas should not be overlooked. Homer describes a society which in general is that of Ionia about 800 B.C., preserving a lot of much earlier element, from sagas of Mycenaean times on, when the Achaeans had not yet been overrun by the Dorians about 1200 B.C., and with reminiscences of the Greek colonisation of the Anatolian coast after 1000 B.C. When we precariously estimate the R̥gvedic hymns were composed between 1200 and 900 B.C. in the Panjab, the Greek epics are a little younger, they grew slowly during a long period which was full of much more dramatic action than that of the Āryas in the Panjab. The R̥gveda was composed before the Āryas colonised the Doab which was the Indian analogy to the Greek colonisation of the coasts of the Aegean sea between 1100 and 800 B.C. and which was quite different from the Āryan occupation of the Doab.

After such historical considerations, turning to the texts one observes that in the two societies also there are similarities as well as dissimilarities. Leaders of the "tribes" in both sources were "kings". Their main duty was leadership in the constant wars which in the first line were fought for getting cattle, valuable goods and slaves (more females than males), from neighbours, not so much for conquering soil for agriculture. Every member of the "tribe" fought in the wars which were regarded as usual source of income. But only some rich and aristocratic heroes were fighting from chariots. The difference of wealth was great; there were even beggars (RV X, 117, 3; Od 18, 1 sqq.). The war-

riors were arranged in what looks like gentile groups. But the "tribes" cannot have been real gentile tribes in such a late period. The Greek new-comers were already mixed to a great extent with Achean and still older people. The Āryas also after centuries of wandering from Central Asia cannot have been ethnically pure Āryas any more.

The "kings" on the other hand were not yet proper kings. They had no apparatus of officials to govern a state. There were not yet states, as there were no more tribes. In the R̥gveda the main assistants of "kings" were dūtas, some kinds of messengers. The "king" sent a messenger to the enemy, asking for cattle, discussing and threatening with war (RV X, 108; VIII, 101, 3 sq.). He sent him to a foreign king to invite him to his master (III, 42). The messenger had to lead some members of the "tribe" to the "king" if he wanted them (X, 14, 12; 109; 165). He, it seems, carried the gifts or the tribute of the members of the "tribe" to the "king", keeping some part of it for himself sometimes being a little corrupt (X, 98, 8-11; I, 105, 4). His master sent him also to some handicrafts when he wanted some thing made for himself, e.g., highly artificial wooden cups (I, 161). The messenger reported to his "king" about the people as did also the spies of the king (I, 25, 13; III, 54, 19, VII, 60, I; VI, 58, 2 sq.)

In the epics of Homer the main assistants of "kings" were heralds (kēryx). They invited the aristocrats and guests to the feasts of the "kings" and distributed there the wine (Od I, 109; 143; 3, 338; 7, 178; 13, 50; 17, 172; 18, 425), lead a bard to the banquet and brought him a lyre (Od 8, 62; 105 sq.; 256; 471), called "king", aristocrats and people to the official gatherings (Od 2, 6; 8, 7) and kept the gathered quiet, brought at such an occasion the sceptre for the king (Od 2, 37 sq.) and brought also the animals which had to be sacrificed there (Od 20, 276, II 3, 118 sqq.; 19, 195 sqq.). They assisted the "king" during the sacrifice. A herald is described as messenger and spy of queen Penelope (Od. 4, 677; 16, 327; 412). In war a herald with two spies is sent to reconnoitre the region of the enemy (Od. 9, 87 sqq.; 10, 100 sqq.). He is sent to the enemy "king" (II 7, 370 sqq.). He leads his "king" to the enemy's camp (II 24, 145 sqq.). He is sent during a battle by his "king" to his heroes with some orders (II 12, 342 sqq.). A Greek and a Trojan herald separate Hector and Ajax when they fight each other (II 7, 270 sqq.). The son of a herald or two great heroes are used as spies in the night before a decisive fight (II 10, 35 sqq.). Spies look secretly for cattle to be robbed (II 18, 520 sqq.). Just as the Sun-god is the spy of Varuṇa so Helios is praised for seeing every thing (Od 11, 109) and informing Hephaistos about Aphrodite's adultery with Ares (Od 8, 271; 302). Thus, despite of all differences in details, common to the Greek and Indian "kings" was this fact that their main assistants were such personal employees, no state-officials.

Besides, "kings" had their charioteers, responsible and trustworthy friends. They had no officials for a financial department, but they had their treasuries. Such rooms, full of valuable goods in metals, textiles and weapons, are mentioned in the palaces of Odysseus, Priamos and Menelaos (II.24, 192; Od 15, 98sq.; 21,9). From there "kings" and queens fetch gifts for guests. Indra has his *śevāra*, full of valuable goods, to be doled out to singers of hymns and to offerers, administered, it seems, by the *Sungod* (VIII, 1,21sq.; II, 13,6). But a Non-aryan *dāsa* as a miser keeps his treasure for himself (VIII, 51,9). Indra, when he is drunk, when he partakes in a banquet, distributes from his treasure (VIII, 1,21), and a human "king" may have done the same. Greek and Indian "kings" filled their treasure with tributes or gifts of their people, with booty and products of their own undertakings, more pastoral than agricultural. Both spent their goods on their retinue, family and guests, but also on rituals. Nobody distinguished between state's and "kings" personal expenditure. There were no public works like building of roads or irrigation works. There were also no standing armies to be paid for by a state.

There was no state's department of law, no especial court or judge. Law was in the main outline not yet separated from morals with some religious foundation. Only once in *Rgveda* VII, 86, 5 it is possible to interpret a prayer to *Varuṇa* in the sense that the "king" had the power of setting a thief free from fetters. This may have been some beginning of a judicial function of the "king". On the other hand, Homer in II, 18,497 sqq. described how two men were litigating in the market place where the "Old Men" had gathered in order to decide whether in a case of murder the *wergild* had been paid or not. This, certainly, was some kind of law-court, mentioned in a late passage of the epic. Correspondingly "kings" are characterised sometimes by Homer as masters of the law. But here also it is still impossible to distinguish clearly between judicial and moral-religious conceptions. Neither in Greece nor in India there were then police, prisons or executions. But there were curses upon thieves or oaths (self-cursings) to certify one's purity (RV VII, 104, 10; 15; II 19,255sq.) just as there were oaths of contracting parties (I, 73,3; III, 55,2; X, 8,4; Od 5,178sq.; 10,340sq.; II 3,73 sqq.; 2,239; 14,270sq.). Magical oaths were used just because state's law did not yet function. Everybody helped himself to what he thought to be his right. State began—so far as it existed at all—only in the two above mentioned cases of jurisdiction to interfere in the name of public order.

As regards his power the "king" was called the lord whose orders had to be fulfilled, in peace and war. But what did this mean? One poet in a *Rgvedic* hymn to *Varuṇa* confessed that the people day by day break the law (*vrata*). He meant the law of the human "king" (I,25,1). But the "king" had no legislative or executive power, he was no despot, his law was the same as the

magic-cosmic-moral law of Varuṇa, of which the "king" was the protector among his people. The people were no daily criminals against the law of a state but sinners against cosmic law. They were no rebels against the "king". On the other hand, Thersites in II, 2, 210sq. was a rebel against Agamemnon and the "kings" in general. He wants to return home. He hates the "kings" who take the greatest part of the booty which is conquered by the masses of ordinary fighters who themselves are deprived of sharing the booty. He says so in the assembly of the whole Greek army in order to convince the masses. He is the only one who does so but his arguments are such as may be believed by the majority. Only by brutal force Odysseus stops him because to speak in the assembly is the privilege only of aristocrats. This shows that the democracy of gentile society had in essence disappeared and that the ordinary man began to understand their depressed situation, one might even say, their exploitation because booty had been a regular part of the income of every member of the real tribe in the previous period. We speak therefore to-day of a period of "military democracy" which consisted of the centuries of decaying gentile society. Rgveda as well as the Homeric epics are depicting the last phase of this period, but the Greeks were according to the epics in some points a little ahead of the Indians.

One of these points is the beginning of class-struggle, illustrated not only by Thersites but also in the *Odyssey* when the men of Odysseus do not obey his orders in the case of the winds, kept by the "king" in the sack of Aeolus; this they open against Odysseus's will because they suspect that the "king" secretly keeps booty in it; they think in the line of Thersites, (Od 10,30 sq.) And against Odysseus' orders they slaughter the oxen of Helios (Od 12,270 sq.). Such actions are not mentioned in the Rgveda. Just because such rebellious struggle of the ordinary men did not play any role in Rgvedic society and a very small one in Homeric society it was not necessary to keep a costly apparatus of power to strengthen the "kings" position by law and police, to organise a state and to give great political power to a king. Custom was still strong enough to keep people quiet. Exploitation was not yet brutal enough to make people in general dissatisfied and rebellious.

"Kings" in both countries at that time were believed to be helped by gods. The Greeks believed already in some divine origin of their princes and of the sceptre of Agamemnon which he had got from Zeus, although not directly. For the Rgvedic "king" not a sceptre but a throne (garta) was the symbol of his extraordinary power, but this one was not believed to be a gift of some god.

In Homeric Greece kingship was hereditary as it was in India. On the other hand, there were some few Rgvedic hymns (X, 173, 1; 124, 8) which according to modern interpretation allude to election of "kings" or at least of people's approval of the heir apparent before his enthronization. This is well-

known from the Rāmāyaṇa II. But these hymns need careful interpretation. It may be that "kings" were elected only on certain occasions for especial purposes just as Indra was elected by other gods for fighting Vṛtra (I, 131, 1; IV, 17, 1; 8, 19, 1-2). These other gods may represent in the divine sphere what heads of families or clans were among human beings, but also human "kings". If so, one might conclude that the samrāj, the leader of a group or confederation of "tribes" was elected by the respective "kings and their viśas as e.g. in the case of the dāśarājña, the battle of Sudās against ten kings. This confederation is similar to that of the Greek "tribes" who under the leadership of Agamemnon fought against Troy. But Agamemnon was not elected. He invited the other kings to participate in the war because they had been once the suitors of Helena and had sworn as such to protect her future husband against any offender. He acted as the elder brother of Menelaos and also as the mightiest Greek "king" of his time residing in Mycenae, the most ancient, originally Pre-greek fort and capital of the Hellenes with its gigantic archaeological remnants. How the enemy of Sudās became leader of his confederation we do not yet know.

Finally a category for determining the character of the "king" of Homeric and Rgvedic times is his relation to the famous assemblies. The Greek "kings" discussed all political questions day by day with the Council of Elders who gathered close to the palace and after their meeting participated in the "king's" meal which began with an offering of an animal to the gods slaughtered by the "king" himself. These elders were the heads of the aristocratic families. Besides, there were the gatherings of the people, the adult men of the free population, invited on important occasions by the "king". In the Rgveda at least two words are designations of assemblies, sabhā and samiti, and perhaps vidattha also, but whether and how they correspond to the Homeric assemblies is not yet certain. Although a lot of great Vedic scholars have spent great efforts on clearing this question the result is not yet convincing for every indologist. But one gets the impression that such an element of democracy, remaining from older, gentile times had survived up to the centuries of the Rgveda. In India such assemblies disappeared from then on—and perhaps for that reason the evidence of the Rgveda on this point is so scarce—in Greece they went on for centuries more. But "kings" of these times had no secretariate, council (mantra) or ministers (amātya) at their side as later Indian kings did when they had developed to princes of monarchical states.

On the other hand, Homer in several places alluded to an oppressive character of the "kings" (II 1, 281; 17, 225:250; Od 4, 691; 13, 15) in contrast to the Rgveda. This is in concordance with the elements of class-struggle in the Greek epics mentioned above but missing in the Rgveda.

Thus, one can gather some motives which show that the character of "Homeric" society was more developed on the way from gentile or tribal to

stately society. One reason for this fact is that the Greeks began to use iron earlier than the Indians and that they continued town-life of the pre-Greek population in Mykene and other towns in contrast to the Āryas in Panjab with Harappa and Mohenjo Daro in ruins. The Greeks went on with the sea-trade of the Cretans and Phenicians and developed the Phenician art of writing earlier than the Indians that of the Arameans. Implements and weapons of metals, bronze and silver, and some clothes were apparently more refined in Greece than in India and were according to Homer in part worked by Phenician masters of handicrafts. The progress of the Greeks becomes clear when one contrasts how Hephaestos made the highly artistic and artificial shield for Achilleus, asked by his mother, the goddess Thetis to do so (OI 18, 370 sqq.), and how the Ṛbhus made some wooden cups, ordered by Indra (I, 161).

Besides, one has to consider that the epics were composed by Homer and got their final shape some time later than the Rgveda, after the very important colonisation of the coasts of the Aegean sea. This may be responsible for the late elements of class-struggle and of the oppressive character of the "king" mentioned above.

But there are other problems which show that the Greeks moved on other ways of social development than the Indians. Thus, the Greek "kings" of the epics had their landed estate, their especial temenos, as did then and later on all members of Greek aristocracy. On these there worked slaves. This was in contrast to India. Neither in Vedic nor in later times (with the exception of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra) kings or Kṣatriyas had their landed property tilled by slaves, but they were some kind of masters of villages inhabited by Vaiśyas and Śūdras who worked on their own fields in village-communities and paid some rent to their aristocrats and kings.

Quite different also was the role of priests in India and Greece. Very few priests are mentioned in the epics of Homer. They were bound to a shrine and were professionals in vaticinating, observing the flying of birds, the position of the intestines of animals sacrificed to gods, and dreams. "Kings"—and also all other householders—sacrificed themselves, doing so at the beginning of every meal. They also vaticinated and prayed to gods in a quite personal and spontaneous way which was different from that of the Rgvedic prayers composed by professional priests. Homeric "kings" on important occasions asked priests for advise but they did not need any middleman between themselves and the gods. There was no Greek court-priest in contrast to the Vedic and later purohita. In the beginning of the Ilias Agamemnon and Achilleus fight each other for the possession of slave-girls. The daughter of Apollon's priest Chryses has been forcibly carried away by Greeks and delivered to Agamemnon. Her father asks her back, offering a price II I. II sqq. Agamemnon finally agrees but takes

Briseis, the slave of Achilles, in her place. Thus, the epic starts with a problem which is similar to that of "king" Soma in the *Ṛgveda* who has abducted Tārā, the wife of the priest and purohita Brhaspati and is finally obliged to give her back (X, 109). From then on the topic of warning kings not to rob Brahmins of their wives (or cattle) is often touched in Indian lawbooks. But Chryses was no purohita, Tārā was not robbed as a slave, and the Greek priests were neither then nor later on members of a caste, class or rank (*varṇa*) as the Brahmins were. The Brahmins in general claimed the first rank in Indian society, higher than that of the military aristocracy and there is no doubt that already in *Ṛgveda* the priestly composers of hymns claimed the first rank although they were not yet organised in the strict sense of *varṇa*.

This difference between ancient Greece and India is difficult to explain. The composers and singers of the Homeric epics were no priests but worldly professionals who roamed around and were received as honoured guests in courts of "kings" (Od 1, 325sq.; VIII, 62sq.; 26.sq.; 491). And when later on kings disappeared these bards sang on great religious gatherings or market places in towns (similar to Kuśa and Lava in Ayodhyā). They sang originally for the princes and were their ideologists praising their ancestor's heroic deeds. Quite different were the composers and singers of *Ṛgvedic* hymns who in part also roamed around and selected "kings" or princes as their patrons for whom they offered sacrifices and composed hymns and got presents in return. They also were regarded as highly estimated guests. They also were in some respect ideologists of the military aristocrats and "kings". But these must have had other, worldly ideologists besides. Later on these were called *sūtas* and were in the same time charioteers of heroes. They were their genealogists and handed over by oral tradition the names and lines of princely dynasties and their achievements which still later on were gathered in the Indian epics and *Purāṇas*. Thus, the Indian and Greek epics resemble each other to a great extent as has been shown by N. K. Siddhanta in his famous book "The Heroic Age of India" (London 1929). Such worldly aristocratic ideological and semi-historical tradition must have existed side by side with the priestly magico-mythical tradition from the times of the *Ṛgveda* and from still older times on.

One may consider the possibility that the priests play such a great role in the *Ṛgveda* just because the hymns were composed by priests while in the Greek epics their importance is very small because Homer belonged to the worldly bards. This would imply the theory that both these old literary documents in Greece and India reflect their societies in wrong ways. Although every literary work is written from a partial standpoint this argument is not convincing because this basic difference of priests in Greek and Indian society is not only observed in these documents but throughout the whole history of ancient India and Greece. One has therefore to consider this difference as a fact and has to recognise that

it is very old and documented already in the Rgveda and Homer's epics. One can find its explanation only in studying still more archaic stages of Greek and Aryan society.

One may have the general impression that the importance of the Brahmin varṇa goes back to pre-Aryan times of the Indus-valley civilisation. But the Rgveda shows that even the Āryas according to their most ancient and pure tradition held their priests in highest esteem. Perhaps they did so already in earlier times when they were still neighbours of the Iranians because among these the role of the priests also seems to have been greater than among the Greeks. This is a question which is not to be dealt with here. But let us for moment look at some further developments.

The Greeks in their later cults of gods, in the official state-religions as well as in the Delphi-, Orpheus- and Dionysos-cults developed a type of humanism which is well-known from Greek arts and dramas, a humanism full of pride, according to which the individual has direct intercourse with his god to help him in his struggle with fate (*ananke*) in which he either happily succeeds or succumbs tragically. The humanism of India was quite different. In Vedic, Post-Rgvedic times the Brahmin acquired the pride that he as a magician of a spiritual type has the power to control not only human destiny but the course of the cosmos as well. Rituals of Brahmins were regarded as more essential than powers of gods. Then, in the Upaniṣads some very few Brahmins and kings strove for their emancipation from destiny, gods and even rituals as the highest human goal. Then Buddha, himself a Kṣatriya, taught his pupils that not the Brahmin elite alone but every body who followed the Buddhist way can get this freedom from fate and gods. This proud humanism was stressed through the centuries by a lot of antiorthodox, liberal, highly humanistic religious reformers, amongst others of the bhakti-movements which finally lead to Ram Mohan Roy and Vivekananda, to Tagore and Tālak, to Gandhi, the Vaiśya and friend of the Harijans, and to Ambedkar, the Untouchable who became Buddhist.

KUNDAMĀLĀ AND UTTARARĀMACARITA

By

H. D. SANKALIA, Poona

I

Kundamālā (*Kdm* or *KM*), a drama attributed to Dinnāga and dealing with the later life of Rāma was discovered in a fragmentary condition in Malabar and first edited in 1923.¹ Soon after, in 1929, I had an occasion² to carry out a detailed comparison of *Kdm* with *Uttararāmacarita* (*Urc*) and point out that there was strong evidence to conclude that Bhavabhūti was indebted to Dinnāga for many of the thoughts and expressions and particularly for Act III of the *Urc.*, wherein he brings about a psychological reconciliation between Rāma and Sītā, after the latter was again abandoned in a forest.

This conclusion was strongly resented by a few scholars, particularly by one of my teachers, the late Professor K. M. Shembavnekar. The main argument was that there was no certainty about the identity of Dinnāga (who incidently was different from the famous Buddhist philosopher), and that a dramatist like Bhavabhūti would never borrow from a lesser artists. It was on the contrary quite probable that *Kdm* was a poor imitation of *Urc*.

During the last 37 years, doubts about the priority of *Kdm* and *Urc*. have been, to a great extent, though not completely, removed. Dr. K. Dutta³, after great pains and a careful collation of a few Mss., has given something like a critical edition of *Kdm*. He has also shown by a very detailed study that *Kdm* was composed sometime between the 4th and 6th centuries A.D.

This was also the view of Mankad, Krishnamachari, Varadachari and others.⁴ Woolner, on the other hand, had suggested tentatively 11th century as the lower limit of the bracket, but this is not right, as shown by Dutta.⁵

Dutta's arguments for an earlier dating are as follows :—

¹ Ed. by Ramakrishna Kavi and S. K. Ramanatha Sastri, Dakshina-bhārati Sanskrit Series, No. 2, Madras, 1923

² Sankalia, H. D. " *Kundamālā* and *Uttararāmacarita* " *St. Xavier's College Magazine*, Vol. XXII, 1929-30, pp. 63-76)

³ Kali Kumar Dutta, *Kundamālā* of *Dinnāga*, Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, XXVIII, Calcutta, 1964 I am grateful to my colleague, Dr. N. M. Sen for drawing my attention to Professor Dutta's work.

⁴ Dutta, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 54 (*ABORI.*, XV, p. 236; XVI, p. 158).

1. In the *Kdm.* there is persistent use of Śauraṣeni Prakṛt, both in prose and verse.¹
2. Certain mannerisms in the language, particularly the Prakṛt.²
3. The use of introductory verses, different from the Nāṇḍī.³
4. The employment of Viḍuṣaka who normally never appears in Rāma dramas. His appearance in *Kdm.* is novel and is possibly due to the influence of Aśvaghosa.⁴
5. The practice of erecting statues of living and dead persons which seems to have died out after the 4th century.⁵
6. The simplicity of the plot and, as mentioned later, of the language, particularly Sanskrit which is on the whole free from long compounds and harsh, jarring, guttural words.

One or two objections against a very early date need mention. The first is that Rāma is regarded as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. Secondly, there is an invocation to god Heramba (Gaṇeśa).

Both these features seem to have been known and even become current by the 5th-6th century A. D.

Recently, I noticed among the ruins of several temples of the early Gupta period at Tigowa (about 40 miles north-west of Jabalpur), two or three idols of Gaṇeśa, which are indeed precanonical, that is before the 6th-7th century A.D. But these do indicate the growing importance of Gaṇeśa.

Thus a more critical study of *Kdm.* has very much weakened the objections against its priority to *Urc.* This has emboldened me to republish my article after so many years, for I find that even Professor Dutta has *not* carried out the kind of detailed comparison between *Kdm.* and *Urc.*, as I had done.

With regard to the authorship of *Kdm.*, Dutta, after discussing several views, concludes that the author was Dīnnāga and this Dīnnāga is the same person who is mentioned in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva.⁶ Any further identification of this Dīnnāga is not yet possible.⁷

Dutta also considers the question of the sources of *Kdm.* and *Urc.* Though both these dramas end happily as in the Uttarakāṇḍa of Valmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

² *Ibid.*, p. 153.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁶ Dutta, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

the sources of their information do not term to be identical.¹ Both these might have borrowed from *Padmapurāṇa*.² The author of *Kdm.* was aware of the fact that in the original story, Sītā was left in Vālmiki's hermitage, and the story ended on a tragic note.

However, in a few important particular *Kdm.* departs from the epic, as well as the *Urc.* For instance, the episode of the armed conflict between Rāma and Lava Kuśa is used by *Urc.* after the epic, but is unknown to *Kdm.*, a fact which may suggest that Dinnāga was posterior to Bhāsa.³

Again, though according to both the dramas, Rāma meets the twins in Vālmiki's hermitage, the dramas do not agree on the location of this hermitage. *Kdm.* places this hermitage in the Naimiṣa forest, on the river Gomati, while *Urc.* places it on the river Gaṅgā.⁴

The most important common point between *Kdm.* and *Urc.* is the *Chāyā* (invisible) Sītā incident. As pointed out by me years ago this incident was borrowed by Bhavabhūti and so cleverly used that it places the entire drama on a high psychological plane.

And I am glad to find that Professor Dutta agrees with my view. He further thinks⁵ that Dinnāga might have got the inspiration for this invisible Sītā incident from the *Pratimā Nāṭaka* of Bhāsa. Here occur the words—*Chayeva na dṛṣyate Sītā*.

Thus though there were enough grounds for inferring that Bhavabhūti derived the inspiration for *Urc.* from *Kdm.* no attempt seems to have been made to discuss these parallelisms. In absence of such an effort, no specific reasons could be assigned for these assumptions.

Kundamālā deals with the later life of Rāma after he had returned with Sītā from Laṅkā. Ever since their return doubts were expressed about Sītā's chastity. Rāma could not withstand this doubting attitude of the public, and he charged Lakṣmaṇa to take Sītā to a forest on the banks of the river Bhāgirathī and leave her there. Devoted Lakṣmaṇa does as directed, and returns to Ayodhyā after abandoning Sītā in a forest. Sītā, in her forlorn state, is seen by the sage Vālmiki, who takes her to his hermitage. Sītā was pregnant at that time, and while going with the sage she takes a vow that she will offer a garland of flowers to the river Bhāgirathī, if she has a safe delivery.⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

² *Ibid.*, p. 164. Though we must point out here that this *Padmapurāṇa* might not be very old, as to be the source of *Kdm.*

³ Dutta, p. 110 and p. 115.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁶ *Kundamālā*, Act I, p. 16.

जगद्वति भार्गवरिषि बरहं सुखेन¹ गर्भममिनिर्वर्तयामि तदा
तव दिने दिने सुष्ठु प्रयितया² कुन्दमालयोपहारं करोमि³ ॥

In Vālmiki's hermitage she gives birth to twin sons, Lava and Kuśa. Accidental circumstances bring Rāma near Vālmiki's hermitage. Thus it happens that the twins recite the Rāmāyaṇa composed by Vālmiki before Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and others. Finally Rāma takes back his wife and sons and there is joy everywhere.

Before entering upon a detailed comparison between the dramas it may be pointed out that there are certain thoughts and expressions which show either mutual exchange between Kālidāsa and the author of *Kdm.*, or that both these had borrowed from a common source current in the 4th-5th century A.D.

एतस्मिन्वितनाम्बरे प्रतिदिनं साञ्जिव्ययोगाद्वरे-
स्त्यक्तवा नन्दनचन्दनाविरुहनालानतां प्रापिताः ।⁴
भोविद्विष्टनमार्गेषु चन्दनानां समर्पितम् ।
नास्यसत्करिणां प्रेवं त्रिपदीच्छेदिनामपि ॥⁵

It is only the idea in these two verses, viz., that the sandal trees became the tying-post for elephants needs emphasis.

In *Raghu* when Lakṣmaṇa takes leave of Sītā after abandoning her in a forest, because of Rāma's order, she says :

वान्यस्त्वया मद्वचनात्स राजा (14.61).

In *Kdm.*, in an identical scene, Sītā says :

एवमपि त जनं विज्ञापय (Dutta. I., p. 12)

Thus Sītā no longer—and naturally—recognized Rāma as her husband, for he behaved as a king towards her. Paying back in the same coin Rāma is called a "King" by Kālidāsa and a "third person" by Dīnāga.

Kuśa in *Kdm.*,⁶ says :

प्रणाममपि सैवोपदिष्टवती, न च गुरुनियोगा विचारमर्हन्ति ।

While *Raghuvaṃśa*⁷ has the following :

स क्षुब्धवान्मातरि भार्गवेण पितुर्नियोगात्प्रवृत्तं द्विषद्वन ।
प्रत्यग्रहीदग्रजशासनं तदाज्ञा गुरुणां ह्यविचारणीया ॥

¹ The Cr. Ed., p. 21 has *Svastinā* for *sukhena*.

² *Ibid.*, has *Svāhastagrathitayā*.

³ *Ibid.*, has *Kariṣyāmi*.

⁴ *Kdm.*, Act IV, Verse 7, p. 41; Cr. Ed., p. 55.

⁵ *Raghuvaṃśa*, Canto IV, verse 48.

⁶ *Kdm.*, Act V, p. 59; Cr. Ed., p. 77.

⁷ *Raghuvaṃśa*, Canto 14, verse 46.

These parallelisms of ideas and language point to two things, viz., (1) either Diñnāga borrowed from Kālidāsa or the latter from the former, or both from a third source; (2) if Diñnāga borrowed from Kālidāsa he used his phrases intentionally to satirize Kālidāsa; the converse is also possible.

Both the external as well as internal evidence go to show that Diñnāga was a contemporary of Kālidāsa, or his immediate successor. Latest research confirms the earlier view that Kālidāsa probably lived in the later part of the fourth century A.D.¹ as Bhavabhūti's date has been fixed in the latter part of the seventh century A.D. The priority of Diñnāga thus appears certain.

Apart from the Prakrit which Dutta has shown to be of an early type a glance at the plays shows that the style in which *Kdm.* is written is very simple. Very few long compounds and words with harsh sounding gutturals are found. Bhavabhūti, who lived immediately after the great prose-writer Bāṇa, surcharges his dramas with long compounds and harsh-sounding words. This fact again goes to prove the posteriority of Bhavabhūti.

In the *Meghadūta* Kālidāsa makes a reference to a certain Diñnāga: दिङ्-नागानां पथि परिहरन् स्थूलहस्तावलेपान् (V. 12) which, if translated literally, runs as follows:—"Avoiding in your journey the blows of the huge trunks of the quarter elephants.

But Mallinātha's remarks are significant. Grasping the underlying irony of the passage he remarks दिङ्नागप्रचार्यस्य कालिदासप्रतिपक्षस्य (स्थूल) हस्तावलेपान् (दृग्गानि) परिहरन्, that is, Diñnāga was a contemporary of Kālidāsa and abused him in his writings. The same conclusion is arrived at by another commentator Dakṣiṇavartanātha²

दिङ्नागानाम्—अनेन दिङ्नागाचार्यो विवक्षितः । स्थूलहस्तावलेपान्—अनेन प्रबन्धदूषणसमये स्थूलहस्ताभिनयाश्च विवक्षिताः अयमभिप्रायः—दिङ्नाग इति कोऽप्याचार्यः कालिदासप्रबन्धानन्वयोकोऽयमर्थ इति स्थूलहस्ताभिनयं दूषयति ।

This external evidence goes to prove that Diñnāga was contemporary of Kālidāsa.

One or two parallel ideas, couched in more or less identical language prove the internal evidence for inferring, though not quite conclusively, because both Kālidāsa and Diñnāga might have borrowed from some third earlier source, that Kālidāsa and Diñnāga were contemporaries.

Kaṇva³ in *Kdm.* says:—

¹ Kieth, A. B., *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 82, and *The Classical Age*, Ed. by R. C. Majumdar, 1962, p. 302.

² *Kdm.*, Introduction, P. 4.

³ *Kdm.*, Act IV, verse 5, P. 40; *Cr. Ed.*, p. 55.

आनाकमेकधनुषा युष्मन् विजित्य
 पुण्यैर्दिवः कृतुशतैर्विरचय्य मार्गम् ।
 इक्ष्वाकवः सुतनिवेशितराज्यभारा
 निःश्रेयसाय वनमेतदुपाश्रयन्ते ॥

Compare this with the following verse from *Raghuvamśa*:—¹

इति क्षितीशो नवति नवाधिका महाकृत्वा महनीयशासनः ।
 समारुरुष्टुर्दिवमायुषः क्षये ततान सोपानपरम्पराभिः ॥

Further the following verse from *Kdm.* bears a close resemblance to that of *Raghuvamśa*:

Let us now turn to the sources of *Kdm.* and its main incidents and the changes made by Bhavabhūti to evolve *Urc.* out of *Kdm.*

The main theme of *Kdm.* is taken from the Uttara Kāṇḍa of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyana*, a chapter dealing with the history of Rāma from his coronation to his death.

(1) In Vālmīki's *Rāmāyana* Rāma charges Lakṣmaṇa to take Sītā to a forest on the other side of the Ganges and to leave her there.

In Act I of *Kdm.*, a similar account is found.

(2) Sītā was in an advanced state of pregnancy.

In *Kdm.* Sītā, soon after her arrival in the hermitage of Vālmīki gives birth to twin sons, that is, she was in an advanced state of pregnancy when she arrived.

(3) Sītā, in her forlorn state, chances upon the sage Vālmīki, who receives the exiled queen under his protection. There she gives birth to the twin sons Kuśa and Lava whom Vālmīki educates.

All these incidents occur in *Kdm.*

(4) Rāma performs the Aśvamedha sacrifice. Vālmīki, along with Lava and Kuśa, is present. The boys recite the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the presence of Rāma who, on knowing that Sītā is alive, sends for her.

Dīnāga has not made any material change here, except that Rāma does not send for Sītā, but she happens to go to the assembly held in the Naimisa forest where Lava and Kuśa sing the *Rāmāyaṇa* before Rāma. Vālmīki asks Rāma to take back Sītā while Sītā on the solemn testimony of Vālmīki declares her purity and innocence and exclaims: "Let Pṛthivī rise up to ascertain my purity".

The vow to offer a garland of *kunda* flowers to Bhāgirathī seems to be an invention on the part of Dīnāga.

¹ *Raghuvamśa*, Canto III, verse 69.

In Acts iii, iv and v, Rāma revisits the old familiar scenes after the great event of Sītā's abandonment. Both Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Padmapurāṇa* tell us that Rāma visited these places after killing the Śūdra ascetic.

Diṇnāga, however, brings Rāma into these places without any obvious reason. He intersperses these Acts with some splendid descriptive and reflective passages. He brings Rāma and Sītā together in these Acts though, Rāma is not aware of Sītā's presence, as he could not see her because of Vālmīki's ban that no man would be able to see any woman living near the Dīrghikā (an oblong tank). Here it is that Sītā comes to know that Rāma still loved her from his heart, though the reconciliation was achieved by that one line:—

यद्यि तव प्रतिकृतिर्मम भवैष्यती १ and Sītā says :— एवं संदिशतांर्यपुत्रेण परित्यागदुःखं
मयि निर्विशेषमपनीतम् २ ।

These remarks, though pregnant with great consequences, are put forward unartistically by Diṇnāga.

Let us see how Bhavabhūti uses this scene to his advantage. Bhavabhūti does not open his first Act with Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā in a forest. He rather opens it with Rāma and Sītā, who are looking at the picture gallery wherein are depicted their past deeds. He shows how deeply Rāma and Sītā loved each other and yet, if necessary, Rāma was prepared to cast her off, a state duty demanding the sacrifice. Finally, he gives us the events accompanying the exile of Sītā.

Moreover, Bhavabhūti gives the reason for Rāma's going to Daṇḍakāraṇya etc. He utilizes the Sudraka event given in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* for bringing Rāma to the forest. He further notices Diṇnāga's invention, namely, the scene in which Rāma and Sītā are close to one another, yet Rāma is unaware of Sītā's presence; and he too brings Rāma and Sītā in close proximity. But Sītā remains invisible through Bhāgirathī's power. Still, a consummate artist like Bhavabhūti could not rest satisfied with this scene alone. He brings about most artistically a reconciliation between Rāma and Sītā; a "psychological study", as Dr. Belvalkar¹ puts it.

To Dr. Belvalkar the scene appeared as an original work of Bhavabhūti. This was natural, as *Kdm.* was discovered and published after Dr. Belvalkar's edition of the *Urc.*

Let us now turn to the changes effected by Bhavabhūti.

As has been already noticed, the idea of bringing together Rāma and Sītā, and the idea of making Sītā invisible, did not arise in the mind of Bhavabhūti;

¹ *Kdm.*, Act I, Verse 13, p. 8; *Cr. Ed.*, Act I, Verse 14, p. 10.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Tr. of Rama's History* by S. K. Belvalkar, *H.O.S.* Vol. 21, p. 80

it is peculiar to Diñnāga who had it first. But Bhavabhūti made the following changes. He kept Sītā in the dark as to the cause of her exile which Diñnāga, following Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, gives in the first act of *Kdm*. Consequently when Sītā sees Rāma for the first time after her separation from him, she is extremely angry with Rāma for his disgraceful conduct. Bhavabhūti, then, puts together all the materials which bring about the reconciliation between Rāma and Sītā, scattered at random in *Kdm*. He, thus, brings about a "psychological change" in the heart of Sītā. Instead of piling a mere heap of various incidents he gives them in the order of psychological development. Sītā, therefore, "from a feeling of apathy and even resentment towards her husband, after many a swing of the pendulum reaches finally a state of confidence and perfect reconciliation"¹. Bhavabhūti puts the very same words in the mouth of Rāma which Diñnāga uses in *Kdm*; Sītā's reply also is couched in similar words

रामः—अस्ति चेदानीमश्वमेधाय सहधर्मचारिणी मे ।

सीता—आर्यपुत्र का ।

रामः—हिरण्यमयी सीताप्रतिकृतिः ।

सीता—आर्यपुत्र इदानीमसि त्वम् । अहो उत्प्लानमिदानीं मे परित्यागलज्जाशल्यमार्यपुत्रम् ।²

Compare the above lines from *Urc*. with those from *Kdm*. quoted above.

Having thus shown that Bhavabhūti has drawn the matter for his third Act of *Urc*. from *Kdm*, which he improved to a great extent though, let me turn to some details for which Bhavabhūti was indebted to Diñnāga's *Kdm*.

In *Kdm*., Lakṣmaṇa,³ while leaving Sītā, prays to the river Bhāgīrathī, to sages, sylvan deities and others to look after Sītā in her exile.

Bhavabhūti makes use of the same device. When Rāma and Sītā looking at the picture gallery come to the river Bhāgīrathī and others Rāma⁴ prays to them to look after Sītā in the same way as mother Earth looked after her. But Rāma says this without the slightest idea that Sita would be exiled and that these—the river Bhāgīrathī and others, would be her protectors. Thus Bhavabhūti has created a remarkable instance of dramatic irony of an incident which Diñnāga gives as a matter of course.

Further, in *Kdm*. Lakṣmaṇa discloses to Sītā the cause of her exile in the following verse:—⁵

श्रद्धापीणां लोकपालानामार्यस्य मम चाग्रतः ।

अमी शुद्धिं गता देवी किन्तु लोको निरङ्कुशः ॥

¹ Tr. of Rāma's History by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, *H O.S.* p. 81.

² *Uttarāramacarita*, Act III, after verse 46.

³ *Kdm* Act, I, verses 22-26.

⁴ *Urc.*, Act I, after verse 23.

⁵ *Kdm.*, Act I, Verse 13.

Bhavabhūti discloses the same very artistically. Rāma is in the forest with Vāsanti, very sore at heart on account of the separation. Sītā also, is there but invisible. Vāsanti, at that time asks Rāma why in spite of his great love for Sītā he abandoned her. And Rama replies—*loko na mṛṣyatīti*.

Here Sītā learns the cause of her exile through Rāma himself, and Bhavabhūti has done this in a very natural way which at the same time touch our vitals, showing at the same time the helplessness of Rāma.

Diñnāga in the *praveśaka* to Act II of *Kdm.* informs us through two Muni-kanyakās that Sītā has given birth to twin sons, that they are studying the *Rāmāyaṇa* from Vālmīki, and that Rāma is going to perform the Aśvamedha. The *viṣkambhaka* to Act II of *Urc.* tells us these same things.

In the third Act of *Kdm.* Sītā is in the forest and there comes Rāma with Lakṣmaṇa. Both Sītā and Rāma are unaware of each other's presence there. Now Sītā¹, hearing the conversation between Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, says:—

को नु खलु एष सजलजलधरस्तनितगम्भीरेण खरविशेषेणात्यन्तदुःखभाजनमपि मे शरीरं रोमाञ्चयति ।

Similar is the situation in *Urc.*, Act III, where Sītā² says:—

अग्नये जलभरितमेघमंघरस्तनितगंभीरमांसलः कुतो नु एष मां हतिति उत्सुक्यति ।

Striking indeed is the similarity of language, ideas and situation.

Sītā's mental condition is depicted in *Kdm*³, when she sees Rāma after her separation, in the following words:—

अहो दृष्ट इति परितोषः क्षिरप्रवास इति मन्युः परिक्षाम इति उद्वेगः निरनुकोश इति अभिमानः ।

Now compare the above sentiments with the following from *Urc.* of Tamasū⁴ when Sītā sees Rāma after her abandonment in the forest.—

तदस्थं नैराश्यादपि च क्लृप्तं विप्रियवशा-
द्वियोगे दीर्घेऽस्मिन्नादिति घटनास्तंभितमिव ।
प्रसन्नं सौजन्याद्दयितकरुणैर्गालकरुणं
द्रवीभूतं प्रेम्णा तव हृदयमास्मिन्क्षण इव ॥

Save some variations in expressions and phrases, in both the thought is identical.

Again, I think, Bhavabhūti owes the following verse and the idea contained in it to Diñnāga. Here is the verse from *Urc.*⁵:—

¹ *Kdm.*, Act III, p. 30.

² *Urc.*, Act III, after verse 6,

³ *Kdm.*, Act III, p. 31.

⁴ *Urc.*, Act III, verse 13.

⁵ *Urc.*, Act I, verse 27.

किमपि किमपि मन्दं संदमासकियोमा-
दविरलितकपोलं जल्पतोरकमेण ।
अशिशिलपरिरम्भव्यापृतैकैकदोष्णो-
रविदितगतयामा रात्रिरेव व्यरंसीत् ॥

The verse from *Kdm.*¹ runs thus:—

किसलयमुकुमारं पाणिमालम्ब्य देव्या विविधरतिसखीभिः संकथाभिर्दिनान्ते ।
चरणगमनवेगान्मथरस्य स्मरामि स्तुतपवसि तटिन्याः सैकते चङ्क्रमस्य ॥

In *Kdm.* Lakṣmaṇa says that the deer, swans and peacocks are all weeping, distressed and without any joy, because they sympathize with the piteous condition of Sītā, and sums up thus:—

तिर्यग्गता वरमनी न परं मनुष्याः ।²

Rāma, in *Urc.* says that all forest animals and birds whom Sītā fed and with whom she passed her time, they all, now that Sītā has once more been in their midst, seem to imitate her, and says:—

हन्त तिर्यङ्गोऽपि परिचयमनुह्वयन्ते ।³

Both the passages allude to the sympathetic attitude of animals and birds towards Sītā in her exile, at the same time hinting at the hard-heartedness of Rāma.

In both *Urc.* and *Kdm.* Sītā is compared to a loving creature that is banded over to a butcher, when she is taken to the forest.

Lakṣmaṇa⁴ says in *Kdm.*:—

तदहमपि स्वजनविस्मम्भनिर्विशङ्का देवीपादाय गृहहरिणीमिव बन्धभूमिं वनमुपनयामि ।

Analogous to this feeling is the following expressed by Rāma⁵ after he resolves to abandon Sītā:—

शैशावात्प्रसृति पोषितां प्रियां सौहृदादपृथगाश्रयामिमाम् ।

छद्मना परिददामि मृत्यवे सैनिको गृहशकुन्तिकासिव ॥

Bhavabhūti has rendered the feeling more intense and heart-rendering, specially because he has selected the verse form to convey his thoughts.

In Act IV of *Kdm.* Rāma, who is overcome with the feeling of separation, faints in the forest. Sītā who is near by, and who knows of his presence there, at once goes to Rāma and revives him. After his revival she returns, and Rāma⁶ utters the undermentioned verse:—

¹ *Kdm.*, Act III, verse 12.

² *Kdm.* Act I, verse 17.

³ *Urc.* Act, III, after verse 20.

⁴ *Kdm.* Act I, P. 3.

⁵ *Kdm.* Act, I, verse 45.

⁶ Act, IV, verse 15.

देहि मे दर्शने प्रिये । त्यज्यतां वीरैर्योऽयं किं नु निष्कृणा मयि ।

and Sītā, ¹ hearing this replies:—

आर्यपुत्र, विपरीतः खलु उपालम्भः ।

A similar situation arises in *Urc.* where Rāma ² says:—

कथं नास्त्येव ननु अकरुणे वैदेहि ।

क्वासि देवि प्रसीद । न मामेवंविधं परित्यक्तुमर्हसि ।

and Sītā, replies —अयि आर्यपुत्र, विप्रतीपमिवैतत् ।

Is it too much to say that Bhavabhūti was strongly influenced by Dīnāga's *Kdm.* and transplanted the scene into *Urc.*?

The following two verses deserve attention. Here is one from *Kdm.* uttered by Rāma ³ on seeing Lava and Kuśa and describing his (Rāma's) inner feelings:—

आपातमात्रेण कयापि युक्त्या संबन्धनः संनमयन्ति चेतः ।

विमृश्य किं दोषगुणानभिज्ञश्चोदये ऋच्योतति चंद्रकान्तः ।

And now read the other one from *Urc.*:—

व्यतिषजति पदार्थानान्तरः कोऽपि हेतुर्न खलु बहिरुपाधीन्प्रीतयः संश्रयन्ते ।

विक्रमति हि पतंगस्योदये पुण्डरीकं द्रवति च हिमरश्मावुद्गते चन्द्रकान्तः ॥

uttered by Rāma ⁴ on seeing Lava.

I do not lay so much stress upon the similes which are, without any difference, the same in both the verses, which Bhavabhūti, however, cannot without any strong proof, be charged with having taken from *Kdm.*, for they (the similes) belong to the conventional stock from which Sanskrit poets take; the emphasis is on the idea that underlies these verses.

Let us see what Bhavabhūti has done here.

He was, evidently, dissatisfied that such a lofty thought should be conveyed in words, which are so feeble and inadequate. He, therefore, recast the verse, and instead of *Kayā'pi yuktyā* he put *āntarah ko'pi hetuh* and for *sambandhinah sannamayanti cetah* he put a generalised statement conveying the sense more clearly.

Polished and refined as the verse of Bhavabhūti is, such words as *padārthān* and *upādhīn* lend it a philosophic tone.

Simplicity and severity are the characteristics of Dīnāga's verse.

¹ *Kdm.*, Act IV, p. 45. *Cr Ed*, p. 78.

² *Urc.*, Act III, just before verse 43.

³ *Kdm.*, Act V, Verse 10

⁴ *Urc.*, Act VI, verse 12

Moreover, the very means which Diṅnāga adopts to show that Rāma was above all hatred and malice are resorted to by Bhavabhūti.

In *Kdm.*, Act VI, Kuśa and Lava sing the Rāmāyaṇa composed by Vālmīki before Rāma. They are about to recite the part which Kaikeyī played in sending Rāma to a forest when Rāma immediately stops them and asks them to omit that verse.

Act I of *Urc.* delineates the character of Rāma. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā are looking at the picture gallery. At the time when Lakṣmaṇa draws their attention to Kaikeyī's deed, Rāma turns to some other scene, showing thereby that he did not wish to disgrace Kaikeyī once more for her past action.

Finally, we notice that in *Kdm.* Vālmīki¹ rebukes Rāma for not taking into consideration various authorities for Sītā's chastity;—

वाल्मीकिः (सकोपम्) — हे राजन्, भूतसौहार्दं, महाकुलीनं, समीक्ष्यकारिन्, किं युक्तं तव प्रतिपादिता जनकेन, गृहीतां दशरथेन, कृतसंगला मरुन्धत्या विशुद्धचारिणा वात्मीकिना, भावितशुद्धिं विभावमुना, मातरं कुशलबयोः, दुहितरं भगवत्या विश्वंभरायाः देवीं सीतां जनापवादा-माश्रयणेन निराकर्तुम् ॥

Compare the above rebuke with that of Pṛthivī²:—

पृथिवी—भगवति भागीरथि युक्तमेतत्सर्वं न वो रामनद्रस्य ।
न प्रमाणीकृतः पाणिर्बाल्ये बालेन पीडितः ।
नाहं न जनको नाग्निर्नानुवृत्तिर्न संततिः ॥

I have tried to show that Bhavabhūti drew for much of his material in *Urc.* upon *Kdm.* of Diṅnāga by adducing (1) parallel situations and scenes, (2) identical thoughts, (3) some characteristic phrases.

Notwithstanding the fact that Bhavabhūti utilised much of the material in Diṅnāga's *Kdm.* for his own play, it must be said to his credit that it reveals the hand of one of the greatest artists. Bhavabhūti liked the scene which Diṅnāga undertook to paint, but disliked the way in which it was worked out. He felt the want of a much deeper background, more colour add more shade, and that he set to create in *Urc.* This also accounts for the fact that the title '*Kdm.*' was changed. '*Kdm.*' like '*Pride and Prejudice*' does not enable one to know straight off what the contents are, while the title *Urc.* does this very well. Moreover, whereas the title '*Kdm.*' is given after a particular incident, '*Urc.*' is very broad and general, covering the whole topic.

Thus Bhavabhūti recast *Kdm.* of Diṅnāga altering and modifying what he thought fit to change. He worked with the clear sense of what was artistic and

¹ *Kdm.*, Act VI, p. 75.

² *Urc.*, Act VII, verse 5.

he, therefore, by changing some of the thoughts and expressions of *Kdm.*, not only improved but doubled its value by putting it into the shape of *Urc.*

One of the reasons why *Kdm.*, though an original work, was lost and forgotten, and *Urc.*, a later production and an improvement on the former, is remembered and read, is to be found in this Bhavabhūti's *Urc.* is "a great abounding fountain of truth, whose criticism of life is a source of illumination and joy to the whole human race for ever."¹ Bhavabhūti's ideal of true love, of true friendship, and his conception of childhood will ever remain engraven in the hearts of his readers. It is for these reasons that, though he passed with scant notice through his own generation—of which he complains in his early works—still he was singled out and preserved by the next and thus handed down from one generation to another till the present day.

¹ Mathew Arnold in three kinds of fames speaks in these words about Shakespeare and Homer. They are, I think, equally, true of Bhavabhūti.

LOCATION OF LAṆKĀ

By

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(Note: References are to the Critical Edition of the *Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa*, published under the authority of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda by the Oriental Institute, Baroda, for the first four Kāṇḍas, and to the Nirṇaya-Sagar Press Edition (Bombay, 1921) for Kāṇḍas V-VII.)

The observations of Principal D. R. Mankad on the location of Laṅkā in his Introduction to the Critical Edition of the Kiskindhākāṇḍa of the *Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa* deserve special consideration because they are the first based on the Critical Edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Unfortunately, he has not taken into account the other views on the topic. It is well-known that the traditional view identifies Laṅkā with Ceylon. Principal Mankad locates Laṅkā in Central India "on one of the hill-tops near Indrāṇa", a village about 18 miles to the north of Jabalpur, takes the extent of Sindhala-dvīpa "up to the Narmadā in the south",¹ and declares "that the identifications made by Shri T. Paramasiva Iyer seem to be more in conformity with the data that we got from the text."²

It is not proposed to deal exhaustively with the problem of the Location of Laṅkā in the present article, but to discuss the points raised by Principal Mankad. His location rests mainly on his views about Godāvarī, Agastyāśrama, Vindhya, and Sāgara, and we shall confine ourselves only to these and other relevant topics.

Principal Mankad has "examined all the places where the word Godāvarī occurs in the Aranyakāṇḍa." Out of 11 places where he finds the word Godāvarī, he says, "only two show no v.l. for Godāvarī", which may lead to the indirect inference that the remaining nine have v.l. for Godāvarī. He goes on to say. "I think that the case is very strong to say that at all these places Godāvarī has been put by some late hand."³

It is to be observed in this connection that the reading Godāvarī has been adopted in the Critical Edition in all cases on the strength of the MSS evidence. Further, it is not correct to say that only two cases (viz, Nos. 3 and 7 in Principal Mankad's list on p. LX) show no v.l. for Godāvarī. As a matter of fact, verses mentioned in Nos. 1, 2, 5, 9 and 11 in the List, which have been omitted in certain MSS, also show no v.l. for Godāvarī. Thus, out of 13 cases, including

¹ Intr., p. LXIII.

² *Ibid.*, p. LXII.

³ *Ibid.*, p. LV.

two of substitute passages, as against five cases where Mandākinī occurs as a v.l. for Godāvarī, there are eight cases, where there is no v.l. for Godāvarī.

Again, in addition to the passages enumerated by Principal Mankad, I find that Godāvarī occurs in four additional passages in the Aranyakāṇḍa, viz. (i) III. 15. 2d, (ii) III. 15. 37b, (iii) III. 16. 1c, and (iv) III. 43.33a and at all these places, there is no v.l. for Godāvarī. An analysis of 17 cases (including two substitute passages) in which the word Godāvarī occurs in the Aranyakāṇḍa shows that in as many as 12 cases there is no v.l. for Godāvarī, while Mandākinī occurs as a v.l. only at five places. So, if at all, "Godāvarī has been put by some late hand" at five places at the most. The conclusion, therefore, is irresistible that not only is the case not "very strong to say that at all these places Godāvarī has been put by some late hand", but, on the contrary, the case is very strong for retaining Godāvarī, as is rightly done in the Critical Edition, and there is absolutely no evidence to reject that reading and substitute Mandākinī as Principal Mankad seems to imply.

Then, again, he takes exception to the second mention of Godāvarī in st. 12 in Canto 40 of the Kṣīndhākāṇḍa, and regards it as a later interpolation.⁴ The fact however, is that in stzs. 7-11 Sugrīva enumerates the localities in the South which were difficult to penetrate such as Vindhya, Narmadā, Godāvarī, Kṣīṇa-Venī, Varadā and some countries or tribes. Then he instructs the search party to pay special attention and search every nook and corner of Daṇḍakāraṇya and Godāvarī and also put the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Colas, etc. to a careful scrutiny. The repetition is for the sake of inviting special attention to the searching investigation of the Godāvarī region, Daṇḍakāraṇya, etc.

Having thus established that the references to Godāvarī in the *Rāmāyaṇa* are genuine and not later interpolations, so that on the strength of the supposed spuriousness of the mention of Godāvarī it cannot be maintained that Pañcavaṇī, Janasthāna, Rṣyamūka, etc. lie to the north of the Vindhyas and the Narmadā,⁵ let us turn to the location of Agastyāśrama and Pañcavaṇī.

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, after staying again at the Sutikṣṇāśrama for some time on his return at the end of ten years after living in different Āśramas in the Daṇḍaka, Rāma enquired about the location of Agastyāśrama, and was told that it was five *yojanas* from Sutikṣṇāśrama (four *yojanas* to the Āśrama of Agastya's brother and one more *yojana* to Agastyāśrama).⁶

Agastya was associated with the South and he is said to have freed it from the depredations of the Rākṣasas.⁷ Agastya's main feat, however, was the

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. XLVII.

⁵ cf. *Ibid.*, p. XLVII

⁶ *Rām*, III. 10. 35-40.

⁷ *Rām*, III. 10. 79-84.

crossing of the Vindhya range and making it bend low. Vindhya was unsurmountable. It was rising higher and higher, and was coming in the way of sun. Agastya made it lie low till he returned from the South, which he never did, and Vindhya is lying low since then awaiting the return of Agastya from the South. The location of Agastyāśrama, hence, is to be taken, not to the north, but to the south of the Vindhyas.

Pañcavaṭī, the next halt, which abounded in roots, fruit and deer, was two *yojanas* from Agastyāśrama, just near the Godāvarī, on the other side of it.⁸ This and the other references to Godāvarī in the context of Rāma's sojourn at Pañcavaṭī, the abduction of Sītā from that place and Rāma's lamentations and search for Sītā thereafter⁹ definitely contradict the location of Lankā to the north of the Vindhyas, as Godāvarī has been definitely accepted on all hands as lying to the south of the Vindhyas and the Narmadā. The attempt to dub all references to Godāvarī as later additions seems to have been made in order to get over this awkward situation.

The main difficulty the protagonists of the traditional theory have to face is the fact that the Vindhya has been placed to the south of Kīśkindhā. As, however, the Vindhya is actually to the north of Pañcavaṭī which is near the Godāvarī, which, again, is to the north of Kīśkindhā, the location of the Vindhya to its south involves a contradiction. In order to overcome this difficulty, we have to take the so-called Vindhya to the south of Kīśkindhā as a namesake of the northern Vindhya and identify it with "the hills and plateau of South Mysur" as suggested by Pargiter.¹⁰ It was in order to get over this that the Rāmopākhyāna in the *Mahābhārata* substitutes the Sahya for the Vindhya in this context, taking "Vindhya" in the *Rāmāyana* here as a mistake.¹¹ It is stated in the *Mahābhārata* that the Sahya and the Malaya were on the shores of the sea.

It is further to be noted that in the Kīśkindhākāṇḍa itself we find evidence to support the view that the search party of the Vānaras, which Sugrīva despatched to the South, presumably to explore the Vindhya, was already to the south of the Vindhya. The Vānaras tell Svayamprabhā that they were searching for Sītā in the south which was inhabited by Agastya.¹² According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*,¹³ the hermitage of Agastya stood on the summit of the Malaya on the southern extremity and the Vānaras perhaps refer to this as the habitation of Agastya. In any case, Agastyāśrama, as shown earlier, is to be placed to the south of the Vindhya. The reference to the Vindhya as being to the south of

⁸ *Rām*, III. 12, 13, 18. There is no v.l. for Godāvarī in III. 12, 18.

⁹ *Intr.*, p. LV and the additional references given above.

¹⁰ *JRAS*, 1894, p. 261.

¹¹ *Mbh.* (Cr. Ed.), III. 266.42.

¹² *Rām*, IV. 51.7 अगस्त्यचरितामाशां दक्षिणां यमरक्षिताम्।

¹³ X. 79.

Kiṣkindhā is thus to be taken not to the Vindhya north of the Narmadā but to its namesake in the extreme south.

In this connection, it may be observed that in the description of the march of the Vānara army from Kiṣkindhā southwards to the sea, there is no mention at all of the Vindhya, which the search party comprising Aṅgada, Hanūmat and others is said to have encountered, but of the Sahya, Mahendra and Malaya.¹⁴ Rāma also, in the course of his return journey from Laṅkā to Ayodhyā in the Puṣpaka, does not refer to the Vindhya as coming before Kiṣkindhā.¹⁵

There being thus no evidence to place the northern Vindhya to the south of Kiṣkindhā on the basis of the mention of the so-called Vindhya in the Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, the attempts to locate Laṅkā in Central India to the north of the Vindhya fail to carry conviction.

Laṅkā is said to be surrounded by Sāgara or the sea, and it is well known that Ceylon is surrounded by the sea. Those who locate Laṅkā in Central India, however, take Sāgara to be a shallow expanse of water. It is not correct to state that Rāvaṇa crossed the sea sitting in a chariot. The *Rāmāyaṇa* does not say that the chariot passed through the sea. Boats of the shape of Harīṣa and Krauñca are said to be in the sea. It could not thus have been crossed in an ordinary chariot, in the normal way; hence Rāvaṇa's chariot is described as Kāmaga (moving as desired). Principal Mankad writes in this context: "The sea which Hanūmat crossed and on which Rāma built a bridge was a shallow expanse of water, passable by a chariot drawn by asses. This means that the water could not have been deeper than two or three feet¹⁶ With regard to the bridge built by Rāma, he says: "Rāma forced the sea to be shallow and said

परं तीरं गमिष्यन्ति पद्भ्यामेव प्लवंगमाः ॥ 6.22.3

And then Nala built the bridge."¹⁷ Rāma's statement has not been correctly interpreted here. What Rāma actually says is that he would dry up the sea by the shower of his arrows and then the Vānaras would cross it on foot.

The descriptions in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, however, do not countenance the view propounded by Principal Mankad. According to the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sāgara was the real sea, not a shallow expanse of water. If "water could not have been deeper than two or three feet," there was no sense in spending five days for constructing a bridge for the Vānaras to pass through it. Boats are meaningless with reference to a shallow expanse of water.¹⁸ Further, references

¹⁴ *Rām*, VI. 4, 70-71, 92-94.

¹⁵ *Rām*, VI. 123.

¹⁶ *Intr.*, p. LXII.

¹⁷ *Intr.*, p. LXII.

¹⁸ *Rām*, III. 33. 18, VI. 3. 21.

to whale-like fish, crocodiles, conches and pearl oysters, roaring, there being no other end, surging mass of water, etc.¹⁹ are applicable only to the sea. There are innumerable places where the Sāgara is said to be Lavaṇāmbhas,²⁰ Lavaṇodadhi,²¹ Lavaṇārṇava,²² Lavaṇatoya,²³ etc., which no body would think of associating with a shallow expanse of water. References to the myth connecting Sāgara with Sagara and others of the Ikṣvākus can, under no circumstances, be told in the context of a shallow expanse of water.²⁴ Further evidence is supplied by the reference to the ebb and flow of the sea being dependent on the moon.²⁵ This also can never apply to a shallow expanse of water by any stretch of imagination

In support of his view that Sāgara was but a shallow expanse of water, Principal Mankad states that Rāvaṇa, after the destruction of his chariot by Jaṭāyu, carried Sītā on foot and walked through the Sāgara, which was a shallow expanse of water. This is contradicted by references in the *Rāmāyaṇa* alluding to Rāvaṇa's carrying Sītā through the air.²⁶ Further, Sītā is said to have dropped her ornaments tied in a garment towards the group of monkeys who were sitting on the top of a hill.²⁷ This is possible only if Rāvaṇa carried Sītā through the air above the top of the hill, not on foot.

Principal Mankad cites Supārśva, who is said to have allowed Rāvaṇa to pass through Mahendradvāra,²⁸ to substantiate his view that Rāvaṇa carried Sītā on foot. But Supārśva's testimony, which is the second account which Sampāti gives to the Vānaras of his coming to know of Rāvaṇa's carrying away Sītā, runs counter to his own earlier account where he tells the Vānaras that he himself saw Rāvaṇa going with Sītā,²⁹ seems to be a later addition and may be ignored. Further, it is strange that the Vānaras should ask Sampāti again about the news of Sītā when he had already informed them about her. Even if genuine, the description of Supārśva cannot be cited in corroboration of the view that Rāvaṇa carried Sītā on foot, because immediately after crossing the Mahendradvāra, Rāvaṇa is described by Supārśva as speeding through the sky.³⁰

¹⁹ *Rām*, VI. 4. 93, 109-120, 123. 17-18.

²⁰ *Rām*, IV. 57. 31, V. 1. 48, 69, 75, 79, 94, 125, 176, 187, 50. 34; 56. 49; 58. 41.

²¹ *Rām*, VI. 24. 31.

²² *Rām*, V. 56. 51, VI. 50. 35, 51. 4, 123. 16,

²³ *Rām*, V. 1. 100, 119.

²⁴ *Rām*, V. 1. 87, 105.

²⁵ *Rām*, VI. 4. 111.

²⁶ *Rām*, III. 50. 12, 51. 1.

²⁷ *Rām*, III. 52. 1-2,

²⁸ *Rām*, IV. 58. 3.

²⁹ *Rām*, IV. 57. 15.

³⁰ *Rām*, IV. 58. 18.

Hence, Sāgara in the *Rāmāyaṇa* which surrounded Laṅkā was the sea and not a shallow expanse of water as interpreted by those who place Laṅkā in Central India.

Besides the facts noted above, there are several factors going against placing Laṅkā in Central India. In the description of the South, where Laṅkā is said to have been situated, there are references to sandal-wood trees, cocoanuts, etc.,³¹ which cannot be associated with trans-Vindhyan north or Central India where Laṅkā is sought to be located. Rāma had to cross the Sahya, Malaya and Mahendra mountains to reach the shore opposite Laṅkā.³² Sugrīva's description in IV. 40 places, Laṅkā beyond the Kāverī, the Malaya mountain, the Tāmraparṇī, the Pāṇḍya country and the sea.

Thus, there is overwhelming evidence in favour of the traditional view equating Laṅkā with Ceylon, and there is no valid basis for the theory placing Laṅkā in Central India.

³¹ Cf. *Rām*, III. 33. 13, 21; IV. 40. 14, 18; VI. 4. 75; 22. 55.

³² *Rām*, VI. 4, 92-94.

EXTENT OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE RĀMA-STORY OF PAUMACARIYĀM

By

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We have already discussed the sources¹ of the Rāma Story of Paumacariyam of Vimalasūri. There it has been pointed out as to what extent its sources lie in the oral Jain tradition as well as the popular tradition and also how far it has been influenced by the story of Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa. There are certain novelties and diversions in the story of Paumacariyam from that of Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa and the subject of the present article is to show their influence on non-Jain works without giving any details which have been discussed elsewhere.

This influence should be rightly termed as that of the tradition of the Rāma story of Paumacariyam because it has worked in three ways : (i) direct influence of Paumacariyam, (ii) indirect influence of Paumacariyam *i.e.* the influence of subsequent works based on Paumacariyam and (iii) of those non-Jain works which were initially influenced by Paumacariyam directly or indirectly.

The elements of PCV's tradition which have influenced non-Jaina works are generally concerned with the upgrading of the valour of characters and the elevation of characters. According to the proportion of their influence they can be arranged in the following descending order:—

1. Rāma's success among various candidates at the svayamvara of Sitā.
2. Battle between Rāma and his sons.
3. Disturbing of Rāvana's Yajña.
4. Progeny of Hanumat.
5. Association of Kaikeyī with the war chariot of Daśaratha. Exonerating of Kaikeyī from the charge of exiling Rāma and her request to Rāma to come back. Śambūka as the nephew of Rāvaṇa and his death at the hands of Lakṣmaṇa. Lava as elder brother of Kuśa.
6. Meeting of Hanu with Bharata while bringing the medicine to cure the wounded Lakṣmaṇa.
7. Hanu's meeting with Vibhīṣaṇa on the occasion of his mission to Laṅkā.

¹ Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. XIV, No. 2, Dec. 64. p. 134 f.

8. Bow introduced specially for the svayamvara of Sītā. Voluntary exile of Rāma (specially a favour for Bharata). Prophecy about the destined killer of Vāli (Rāvaṇa in the PCV). Association of Lakṣmaṇa with Rāma in the episode of killing of Vāli (sham Sugrīva in the PCV). Bringing of the medicine by Hanumat before the sun-rise. Performing of penances by Rāma.
9. Bharata and Śatrughna as real brothers. Elevating the character of Daśaratha (on the occasion of declaring Rāma as his heir to the throne). Hanumat's love episode. Performing of penances by Sītā.
10. Rāvaṇa's attempt to foil the birth of any son to Daśaratha. Kaikeyī's love marriage with Daśaratha. Initial betrothal of Sītā with Rāma. Taking of shelter with Rāma by Vibhīṣaṇa along with his army. Appearance of Garuḍa at the request of Rāma, in the battle field. Procuring medicinal water particularly from Bharata. Sending of a peace proposal to Rāma by Rāvaṇa through his envoy. Killing of Rāvaṇa by Lakṣmaṇa. Digvijaya by Rāma (or Lakṣmaṇa in PCV). Marriages of Lava and Kuśa. Nārada as the instigator of the battle between Rāma and his sons. Association of water reservoir with Sītā's ordeal. Performing of penances by Hanumat. Continuation of the enmity of both Rāma and Sītā with Rāvaṇa since their previous births.

Various works which have been thus influenced can be mentioned pointwise in a tabular form as shown in the Appendix on pp. 144-149.

This table will show that the tradition of the Rāma-story of PCV has been influencing non-Jaina works up to the recent century, belonging to the Buddhist as well as the Brahmanical fold. The Buddhist works are a few i.e. The Khotānī Rāmāyana and the Rāmajātaka of Śyāma, whereas the Brahmanical works are numerous, religious and secular or ornate. The religious ones are the Purāṇas, sectarian Rāmāyanas and other religious works whereas the ornate ones are poems, dramas and narratives composed in Sanskrit, various modern Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages. In India the influence of Vimalasūri's tradition can be seen from Kashmir to Cape Comorin and from Gujarat to Bengal. Outside India also Vimalasūri's tradition has exercised influence on the works hailing from Tibet, Eastern Turkeystan, Ceylon and South East Asia and even on the Western accounts written by some foreign travellers.

The greatest influence of the tradition of PCV is marked on the Padmapurāṇa, Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa, Ānanda-Rāmāyaṇa, Tulasi's Rāmāyaṇa and his other works, Serī Rāma of Malaya and Rāmakiyen of Śyāma. According to the largeness of the influence they can be arranged as Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa, Tulasi's works on Rāma—story, Serī Rāma, Padmapurāṇa, Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa and Rāmakiyen.

Generally such works have been influenced greatly which belong to a period later than the TSP of Hemacandra. He was a great poet and scholar. His TSP is composed in Sanskrit. Therefore, its popularity in the non-Jaina circle must have been wider than that of any other Prakrit work. Hence it is all the more probable that the tradition of PCV has influenced non-Jaina works through Hemacandra's TSP as far as the non-Jaina works composed not earlier than the 12th century are concerned and they are not small in number.

Abbreviations:

PCV=Paumacariyaṃ of Vimalasūri.

TSP=Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita.

Western Accounts=See Rāmakathā by Dr. C. Bulcke, Prayag (1962), pp. 282-285.

INFLUENCE OF THE TRADITION

Sl. No.	TOPICS	INDIA
		Sanskrit (1)
1.	Rāvana's attempt to foil the birth of Rāma	Ānanda Rāmāyana
2.	Predominance of Kaikeyī's willingness in her marriage with Daśaratha	Satyopākhyāna
3.	Association of Kaikeyī with the war chariot of Daśaratha	Brahma Purāṇa; Padmapurāṇa; Adhyātma & Ānanda Rāmāyana
4.	Bharata & Śatrughna as uterine brothers	
5.	Initial betrothal of Sītā with Rāma	Padma Purāṇa
6.	Introduction of the Bow specially for the svayaṃvara of Sītā	Padmapurāṇa; Satyopākhyāna
7.	At Sītā's svayaṃvara Rāma's success among various candidates?	Nṛsimha? Bhāgawata, Śrīmaddevī Bhāgawata & Padma Purāṇa; Adhyātma & Ānanda Rāmāyana; Satyopākhyāna; Mahāvīracarita, Anargharāghava; Bāla-Rāmāyana, Mahānātaka; Prasannarāghava; Rāmarahasya & Rāmalingāmṛta
8.	Elevation of the character of Daśaratha (on the occasion of enthroning Rāma)	Mahānātaka
9.	A. Exonerating of Kaikeyī from the charge of exiling Rāma & B. Kaikeyī's personal efforts to call back Rāma	Adhyātma & Ānanda Rāmāyana, Mahāvīracarita; Anargha Rāghava & Bālarāmāyana Dharmakhaṇḍa & Tattvasaṅgraharāmāyana
10.	Voluntary exile of Rāma (a special favour for Bharata)	
11.	Śambūka as the nephew of Rāvaṇa & his killing by Lakṣmaṇa	Ānanda Rāmāyana
12.	Hanumat's love episode	Rāmacarita of Abhinanda

OF PAUMACARIYAM

APPENDIX A

INDIA	ABROAD	
Modern Languages (2)	South Asia (3)	Western Europe (4)

Serī Rāma (Malaya),
Hikāyata Mahārāja
Rāvaṇa (Malaya) &
Rāmakiyen (Śyāma)

Marāṭhī Bhāvārtha Rāmā-
yaṇa Serī Rāma (Malaya)

Kāśmīrī Rāmāyaṇa

Rāmācaritamānasa; Ta-
mīla Rāmāyaṇa of Kam-
bana, Telugu Dvīpāda
Rāmāyaṇa, Marāṭhī
Bhāvārtha-Rāmāyaṇa,
Gujarātī Rāmāyaṇa of
Picmānanda

Serī Rāma (Malaya),
Hikāyata Mahārāja
Rāvaṇa (Malaya); Sera-
takāṇḍa (Jāva) &
Rāmkar (Cambodia)

Western Accounts No.
3, 4, 7, 8 & 13

Rāmācaritamānasa

Rāmācaritamānasa &
Kāśmīrī Rāmāyaṇa

Tibetan Rāmāyaṇa &
Serī Rāma (Malaya) West. Acct. No. 14

Telugu Dvīpāda Rāmā-
yaṇa & Kannarese Tor-
āve Rāmāyaṇa

Serī Rāma (Malaya);
Seratakāṇḍa (Jāva);
Rāmakiyen (Śyāma)

Western Account No.
19

Rāmakiyen (Śyāma)

INFLUENCE OF THE TRADITION

Sl. No.	TOPICS	INDIA		
		Sanskrit (I)		
13.	Child(ren) of Hanumat	Ānanda	Rāmāyaṇa,	Jaimini
		Bhārata &	Rāmaliṅgāmṛta	
14.	Prophecy about the destined killer of Vāli (Rāvaṇa in PCV) ?	Nṛsiṃha	Purāṇa ? &	Ānanda
		Rāmāyaṇa		
15.	Association of Lakṣmaṇa with the episode of killing of Vāli (sham Sugrīva in PCV) by Rāma			
16.	Hanu's meeting with or observing Vibhīṣaṇa's favourable attitude for Rāma at Laṅkā	Ānanda	Rāmāyaṇa	
17.	Taking of shelter by Vibhīṣaṇa along with his army			
18.	Appearance of Garuḍa at the request of Rāma, in the battle field	Bhaṭṭikāvya		
19.	Meeting of Hanu with Bharata while bringing the Osadhi	Gauḍīya	Version of Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa,	Rāmarahasya & Mahānāṭaka
20.	Procuring of the medicinal water specially form Bharata			
21.	Delivering of the Oṣadhi before the sun-rise	Mahānāṭaka		
22.	Sending of a peace proposal to Rāma by Rāvaṇa through an envoy	Mahānāṭaka		
23.	Disturbing of Rāvaṇa's Yajña	N. W. Version of Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa;	Padma Purāṇa;	Adhyātma & Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa
24.	Killing of Rāvaṇa by Lakṣmaṇa			

OF PAUMACARIYAM

INDIA	ABROAD	
Modern Languages (2)	South Asia (3)	Western Europe (4)
Marāṭhī Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa; Kannarese Maīrāvāṇa Kalaga & Gujārātī Narmakathakośa	Serī Rāma (Malaya), Hikāyata Mahārāja Rāvāṇa (Malaya); Rāmakiyen (Śyāma)	West. Acct. No. 7 & 8
		West. Acct. No. 13
	Serī Rāma (Malaya); Reāmkar (Cambodia)	West. Acct. No. 1
Rāmacaritamānasa & Gujārātī Rāmāyaṇasāra; Marāṭhī Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa		West. Acct. No. 13
	Rāmāyaṇa Kākāvin (Jāvā)	
Rāmacaritamānasa; Baṅgālī Kṛttivāsa & Kāśmīrī Rāmāyaṇa		
	Rāmakiyen (Śyāma)	
Rāmacaritamānasa & Baṅgālī Rāmāyaṇa		
Rāmacaritamānasa; Telugu Dvīpāda Rāmāyaṇa; Kannarese Torāve Rāmāyaṇa; Kāśmīrī Rāmāyaṇa & Gujārātī Rāmāyaṇasāra	Khotānī Rāmāyaṇa (Eastern Turkeystan); Serī Rāma (Malaya); Reāmkar (Cambodia); Rāmakiyen (Śyāma)	West. Acct. No. 3

Birhor Kathā

INFLUENCE OF THE TRADITION

Sl. No.	TOPICS	INDIA
		Sanskrit (1)
25.	Digvijaya by Rāma (Lakṣmaṇa in PCV)	Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa
26.	Lava as elder brother of Kuśa?	Kathāsaritsāgara?
27.	Marriages of Lava and Kuśa	Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa *
28.	Lava and Kuśa's battle with Rāma?	Kathāsaritsāgara? Padma Purāna, Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa; Jaimini Bhārata; Uttarārāmacarita
29.	Nārada as the instigator of a battle between Rāma & his sons	Rāmaliṅgāmṛta
30.	Association of the water reservoir with Sītā's ordeal?	Kathāsaritsāgara?
31.	Penances of Rāma	Brahma Purāna
32.	Penances of Sītā	
33.	Penances of Hanumat	Brahma Purana
34.	Enmity of Rāma as well as Sītā with Rāvaṇa since their previous births	

The question mark (like?) indicates the probability that both the PCV and the corresponding work might have a common source for that particular element.

OF PAUMACARIYAM

INDIA	ABROAD	
Modern Languages (2)	South Asia (3)	Western Europe (4)

Rāmacaritamānasa &
Kāśmīrī Rāmāyaṇa

Tibetan Rāmāyaṇa;
Sinhalese Rāmakathā

West. Acct. No. 8 & 17

Gītāvalī, Kṛttivāsa
Rāmāyaṇa, Kāśmīrī
Rāmāyaṇa & Gujarātī
Rāmāyaṇasūtra

Sinhalese Rāmakathā;
Serī Rāma (Malaya);
Seratakāṇḍa (Jāvā);
Reāmkar (Cambodia);
Rāmakiyen (Śyāma) &
Rāmajātaka (Śyāma)

Western Account No.
6, 7, 8, 14 & 17

Serī Rāma (Malaya);
Seratakāṇḍa (Jāvā)

Serī Rāma (Malaya);
Seratakāṇḍa (Jāvā)

Rāmakiyen (Śyāma)

Rāmacaritamānasa

SOLAR GENEALOGY RECONSIDERED

By

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In my book 'Puranic Chronology', I had considered the Pre-Mahābhārata solar genealogy. I had, then, put 57 steps between Manu Vaivasvata and Rāma and I had taken $57 \times 40 = 2280$ years to have elapsed between them.

My subsequent studies have forced me to give up this stand. I have, now, come to the conclusion that hardly 280 years had elapsed between Manu Vaivasvata and Kṛṣṇa, which period, I had, then, put at 2800 years. In a paper on 'Chronological Distance between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa' (published in the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, Sept. 1964), I have shown that the distance between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa has to be reduced to 3 or 4 generations. Thus the distance between Manu Vaivasvata and Rāma will be reduced to less than 200 years (from the accession of Manu to the death of Rāma). But, then, the question will be why do the Purānas give, in their solar genealogy, from 50 to 65 steps between these two?

While closing my book 'Puranic Chronology' I had said (pp. 352): "I also know that this whole dynasty is made up of several collateral branches. But I have shown them as linear because at the time of the Mahābhārata, this interpolation was already an accomplished fact and I am here concerned with the number of kings as was fixed in the days of the Mahābhārata."

Thus the entire Solar genealogy upto Rāma (and even further) has been constructed of several collateral branches, each of four or five kings, who were, more or less, contemporary of Rāma. These collateral branches have been made lineal in the present genealogy. In this paper, for the sake of convenience, I shall call the period covered by the five kings—Dilīpa, Raghu, Aja, Daśaratha and Rāma, as Rāma period, and I shall show that almost all the kings named in the Solar genealogy belonged to Rāma period.

I shall, therefore, undertake a reconsideration of the Solar genealogy from Manu to Rāma, considering each king separately. In doing so, I shall take as my basis the list given in the Vāyu Purāṇa, as that gives the largest number of names (=65) in this genealogy.

1. Manu Vaivasvata

Manu Vaivasvata is the first king of this Solar genealogy. His father Vivasvat is a historical figure, being found in Iranian genealogies also, in the form of Vivaṅghat. Manu is a Ṛgvedic poet, having composed five sūktas (VIII, 27-31) of the Ṛgveda.

We note the following points for the chronological position of Manu Vaivasvata.

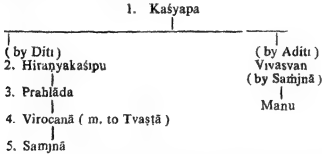
1. Manu was the son of Vivasvat, who was the son of Kaśyapa. All the Purāṇas say that Kaśyapa had married 13 daughters of Dakṣa. Kaśyapa had Hiranyakaśipu by Diti and Vivasvat by Aditi. Hiranyakaśipu had a son named Prahlāda, who had a daughter named Virocanā, who was married to Tvaṣṭā. Tvaṣṭā by Virocanā had a daughter named Saṁjñā. This Saṁjñā was married to Vivasvat.

Vy. 83, 19 says

प्राह्लादी विश्रुता यस्य त्वष्टुः पत्नी विरोचना ।
विरोचनस्य भगिनी माता विशिरसस्तु सा ॥ 19
त्वाष्ट्री सा सविबुर्भार्या पुनःसंज्ञेति विश्रुता । 21b

Bṛ. V, 15, 15 also says that Tvaṣṭā had a wife named Virocanā; In Vy. 66, 73 Prahlāda's daughter is called वशोवर्ता, married to Tvaṣṭā, and all the Purāṇas say that Vivasvat had married Saṁjñā Tvāṣṭri, whose son was Manu.

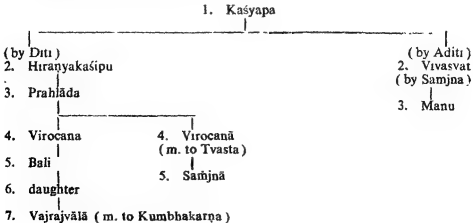
The position will be as under:



2. It is further said that Prahlāda had a son named Virocana, whose son was Bali. Bali's daughter's daughter named Vajrajvālā was married to Kumbhakarna, the brother of Rāvana. Rām. VII, 12, 23-24 says

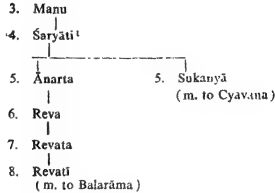
विरोचनस्य दौहित्री वज्रज्वालति नामतः ।
ता भार्या कुम्भकर्णस्य रावणः समकल्पयन् ॥

Therefore, the position will be as under:



This puts Manu at the third step and Vajrajvālā *i.e.* Kumbhakarṇa *i.e.* Rāma at the 7th step. This puts the distance between Manu and Rāma at 4 steps.

3. All the Purāṇas say that Manu Vaivasvata had a son named Śaryāti. Śaryāti had a daughter named Sukanyā, who was married to Cyavana, the son of Bhṛgu. Śaryāti had a son named Ānarta, whose son was Reva. Reva had a son Revata. He was called Revata Kakudmin. This Revata had a daughter named Revatī who was married to Balarāma, the brother of Kṛṣṇa. The position will be this.



This puts Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma at the 8th step, which means a difference of one step between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.²

4. Pṛṣadhra is usually given as a son of Manu Vaivasvata. About this Pṛṣadhra, Vy. 85,2 says : शापाच्छुद्रत्वमापन्नश्च्यवनस्य महात्मनः । This means that Pṛṣadhra was a contemporary of Cyavana, who was, as we have seen above, Śaryāti's son-in-law.

5. This Cyavana was at Rāma period. The genealogy of Cyavana is usually given thus (Mbh. 66,46-7). Bhṛgu-Cyavana-Aurva-Ṛcika-Jamadagni-Paraśurāma. This puts Cyavana 4 steps above Paraśurāma, who was a contemporary of Rāma. Paraśurāma will be at the 9th step.

There is another genealogy given in Mbh. I, 4 thus :—Bhṛgu-Cyavana Pramaṭi-Ruru-Sunaka-Śaunaka. Śaunaka belongs to Mbh. age. (Mbh. Sabhā 4, 10) Taking Cyavana at the 5th step as we have done, Śaunaka will be at the 9th step.

In Rāmāyaṇa, it is said that when Śatrughna was going to fight against Lavaṇa, he had halted at an āśrama on the Yamunā, where he met Cyavana.

¹ Acc to Hr. I, 10,31 Śaryātu was the son of Prānśu, the son of Manu Vaivasvata.

² Vn. has the following :

साम्प्रतं महीतले आसन्नो हि कलिप्राष्टाविंशतिममनोश्चतुसुगमतीतप्रायं वर्तते ॥

IV, 1,76-77. Thus Revata gave Revatī to Balarāma, when Kālī was about to begin.

अथ रात्र्या व्यतीतायां क्षत्रुघ्नो मृगुनन्दनम् ।

पप्रच्छ च्यवनं विप्रं लवणस्य यथाबलम् ॥ VII, 67, 1

This makes Cyavana a direct contemporary of Rāma.¹

All this shows that Manu Vaivasvata and his sons Śaryāti and Pṛṣadhra were not much removed from Rāma. I will show below that Ikṣvāku's son Daṇḍa was at Rāma period.

2. Ikṣvāku

Ikṣvāku was the son of Manu Vaivasvata, as our entire tradition proclaims and his is the second name in this genealogy.

Ikṣvāku had a son named Daṇḍa, about whom Rāmāyaṇa notes the following :

पुरा कृतयुगे राम मनुर्दण्डधरः प्रभुः ।

तस्य पुत्रो महानासीद्विष्वाकुः कुलनन्दनः ॥ Rām. VII, 79, 5

तेषामवरजस्तात (दण्डः)

स दण्डस्तत्र राजाऽभूद्रम्ये पर्वतरोधसि ।

पुरं चाप्रतिमं राम न्यवेशयदनुत्तमम् ॥ VII, 79, 17

पुरस्य चाकरोज्जाम मधुमन्तमिति प्रभो

पुरोहितं तृशनसं वरयामास सुव्रतम् ॥ 18

It is said here that Daṇḍa had Uśanas as his purohita. Uśanas also acted as the purohita of Meghanāda, the son of Rāvaṇa. (Rām. VII, 25, 6). This makes Daṇḍa a contemporary of Meghanāda and therefore of Rāma.

Again it is said that Daṇḍa had violated Arajā, the daughter of Uśanā (Rām. VII, 80, 8). Uśanas, it should be noted, was Cyavana's brother, being Bhṛgu's son.²

Purāṇas also make Daṇḍa to be a son of Ikṣvāku. (Vy. 87, 9, Bg. IX, 6, 4, Bd. III, 63, 9; Vn. IV, 2, 12). Only Hr. (I, 10, 24) makes Daṇḍa to be a grandson of Sudyumna, who was the same as Ilā, the daughter of Manu Vaivasvata.

All this shows that Ikṣvāku is to be placed at Rāma period.

¹ Mbh I. 66, 46 says that Cyavana had by Āruṣi, the daughter of Manu a son named Aurva

आरुषी तु मनोः कन्या तस्य पत्नी मनीषिणः ।

और्वस्तस्यां समभवदुर्वं भित्वा महायशः ॥

We do not know which Manu is meant here, but Aurva is here taken as the son of Cyavana. In the Purāṇas, Aurva is said to be the son of Apravān or Ātmavān and Ruci. In Vy. 65, 40-1 Ātmavān is called Cyavana's son. There is some confusion, but this will, at the most, make one more step.

² Sometimes Uśanas is called the grandson of Bhṛgu, being called Kavi's son.

3. *Vikukṣi*

Vikukṣi is the third name in this genealogy. Nothing is known about him, except that he was exiled by his father for eating away bare's flesh brought for a sacrifice. But it is certain that he was Ikṣvāku's son and as such he was Daṇḍa's brother. He is, thus, at Rāma period.

4. *Kakutstha*

The fourth king Kakutstha is not much removed from Rāma Dāśarathi, I shall show how.

1. It is said in Vy. 88th

इन्द्रस्य वृषभृतस्य ककुत्स्थो जायते पुरा ॥ 24

पूर्वमाहीवके युद्धे ककुत्स्थस्तेन स स्मृतः ।

This means that Kakutstha had helped Indra in Āḍibaka Devāsura battle. If we can know the time of Āḍibaka battle, we can know the time of Kakutstha also. The following shows that Āḍi and Baka were not much removed from Rāma.

(1) Mt. (157th Adhyāya) says that Āḍi and Baka were two brothers and were the sons of Andhaka. Andhaka was killed by Śiva and Āḍi wanted to take revenge of his father's death, but in his stratagem against Śiva, he himself was killed.

ज्ञात्वा तु ततो गिरिवृता दैत्यस्तत्रान्तरे वशी ।

अन्धकस्य सुतो हतः पितृवैधमनुस्मरन् ॥ Mt. 156, 11

देवान्सर्वान्विजित्वाञ्चैव ककुत्स्थान् रणोत्कटः ।

आदिर्नामान्तरप्रेक्षी सततं चन्द्रमौलिनः ॥ 12

आज्जामामरिपुः पुरं त्रिपुरघातिनः ।

This shows that Āḍi and Baka were Andhaka's sons.

(2) Andhaka himself was the son of Hiranyākṣa. In VP. 63rd Prahlāda told Andhaka:

येयं गिरिखुता वीर सा माता धर्मतस्तव ।

पिता त्रिनयनो देवः ध्रुयताम्रश्च कारणम् ॥ VP. 63, 5

नव पित्रा त्वपुत्रेण धर्मन्तिकेन दानव ।

आराधितो हरो देवः पुत्रार्थाय पुरा किल ॥ 6

तस्मै त्रिलोचनेनासीदतोऽन्धोऽप्येव दानवः ।

पुत्रकः पुत्रकामस्य प्रोक्त्वेन्धं वचनं विभो ॥ 7

नेत्रत्रयं हिरण्माक्ष सनमैयुतया मम

पिहितं योगसंस्थस्य ततोर्व्वमभवत्तनः ॥ 8

This shows that the father of Andhaka is addressed (verse 8) by Śiva as Hiranyākṣa. Further, in VP. 70th, 65th verse, Andhaka is addressed as Hairanyākṣa. Lg. (93,4) also makes Andhaka the son of Hiranyākṣa

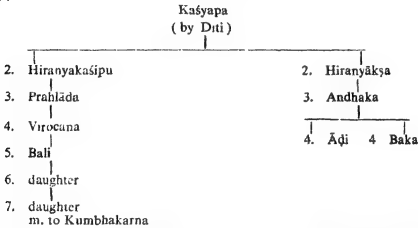
हिरण्याक्षस्य तनयो हिरण्यनयनोपमः ।

पुरीषक इति ह्येतत्तपसा लब्धविक्रमः ॥

Thus it is clear that Andhaka was Hirnyākṣa's son and therefore Hiranyakṣipu's nephew.

(3) Now Hiranyakṣipu was the great grand-father of Bali and Bali's daughter's daughter was married to Kumbhakarna, the brother of Ravana, as we have already seen.

(4) Thus the distance between Āḍi and Kumbhakarna can be shown as under :



This shows that Āḍi and Baka, who were involved in Āḍibaka battle were removed from Kumbhakarna and therefore from Rāma by 3 degrees only.

(6) And, Kakutstha, who took part in Āḍibaka battle was not much removed from Rāma.

2. In VP 66th it is said that Śambara acted as a messenger of Andhaka and went to Śiva and told him to give Pārvatī to Andhaka. It has been shown that Śambara was a contemporary of Divodāsa, the brother of Ahalyā.¹

Thus also, Andhaka and Āḍi and therefore Kakutstha will not be much removed from Rāma.

3. It is said that Kakutstha's daughter Go was married to Yati, the brother of Yayāti. See, ककुत्स्थकन्यां यां नाम लेभे पत्नीं यतिस्तदा Vy. 93, 13-14.

Now Yati was Nahuṣa's son and Nahuṣa was Āyu's son. Āyu had another son named Raji who was a contemporary of Prahāda and Bali.² Bali's Grand-

¹ Pradhan : Chronology of Ancient India, pp. 5-9.

² See my paper 'The twelve Devāsurasamgrāmas JOI, Vol. XII, No. 3,

daughter, as we have seen, was married to Kumbhakarna. Thus Raji who was Bali's contemporary, was not much removed from Rāma. And, therefore, Kakutstha, whose daughter had married Yati, the nephew of Raji, also was not much removed from Rāma.

Rāmāyaṇa gives Rāma's genealogy at two places: I, 69 and II, 110. At both these places,¹ Kakutstha is not given as the son of Vikuksi but is made the son of Bhagīratha.

भगीरथात्ककुत्स्थश्च ककुत्स्थश्च रघुस्तथा । I, 70, 79

भगीरथात्ककुत्स्थश्च ककुत्स्थो येन तु स्मृताः

ककुत्स्थस्य तु पुत्रोऽभूद्रघुर्येन तु राघवाः ॥ II, 110, 28

At both these places Raghu is made the son of Kakutstha, but at both these places Raghu is made the father of Kalmāṣapāda, which, of course, is obviously wrong. Kalmāṣapāda is known to be the son of Sudāsa and Rāmāyana itself admits this in the same breath, in which it says that Raghu was Kakutstha's son. See,

ककुत्स्थस्य तु पुत्रोऽभूद्रघुर्येन तु राघवाः ॥ II, 110

रघोस्तु पुत्रस्तेजस्वी प्रवृद्धः पुरुषादकः ।

कल्माषपादः सौदास इत्येवं प्रथितो भुवि ॥ 29

Thus it is clear that Rāmāyaṇa's genealogy of Rāma is greatly distorted and yet the fact remains that it makes Kakutstha to be the father of Raghu.

Now Ag. has preserved the genealogy thus —

मरीचिः कश्यपस्तम्मात्स्योर्वी वैवस्वतो मनुः ॥ 5, 4

ततस्तस्मात्पुत्रेष्वाकुत्स्थस्य वंशे ककुत्स्थकः ।

ककुत्स्थस्य रघुमन्सादजो दशरथस्ततः ॥ 3

This makes Kakutstha to be the great-great-grand-father of Rāma.² I should note here that in 273rd Adhyāya, where Ag. gives Varvasvata Manu's genealogy, it makes Kakutstha to be the son of Vikukṣi and father of Anenā, as in all the other Purāṇas. But in the 5th Adhyāya, where the life of Rāma is being depicted, Ag. has given the genealogy as above.

Apart from the merits and demerits of this genealogy, it is at least clear that this preserves a tradition, according to which Kakutstha was Rāma's great-

¹ These references are to Baroda edition.

² This equates Kakutstha with Dilipa. This Dilipa is called Khatvāṅga in all the Purāṇas. About him Vs. IV, 4 says:—

विश्वसदः । 75 तस्माच्च खट्वांगः योऽसौ देवासुरसंग्रामे देवैरभ्यर्षितोऽसुराञ्जण । 76.

This would apply to Kakutstha also as he too, had helped Devas in Devāsurasangrāma—the Āṅgika battle. It is therefore likely that Kakutstha is the same as Dilipa, the father of Raghu.

great-grand-father and therefore was not much removed from Rāma. And we should remember that above, we have arrived at the same conclusion from three other independent considerations.

We are, therefore, quite justified in holding that Kakutstha was not much removed from Rāma.

5-10. *Anenā-Prthu-Vṛṣadaśva-Andhra-Yuvanāśva-Śrāvasta*

Nothing helpful is known about these names. Vṛṣadaśva and Andhra are variously spelt in different Purāṇas as:—Dṛśadaśva (Bd), Viṣṭarāśva (Vnsv), Viśvarandhī (Bg), Viśvaga (Bh, Mt), Viśvarāta (Gd), Viśvaka (Lg), Viśvavasu (Pm), Viśvagasu (Ag). Andhra is spelt as Candra (Vn, Bg), Ardra (Bh, Pm, Br, Hr), Ādraka (Lg), Damaka (Saura), Indu (Mt), Āyu (Ag), Indra (Sv).

Anenā is given as the son of Āyu, the son of Pururavas but that is quite a different genealogy. Of course this Anenā, being the son of Āyu and brother of Rājī (who was a contemporary of Bali) was at Rāma period.

Śrāvasta, is generally taken as one, after whom the city of Śrāvastī got its name.

It may be that this Yuvanāśva is the same as Māndhātā's father and that Śrāvasta was a son of Yuvanāśva, but there is no proof for it at present.

11. *Brhadaśva*

Brhadaśva, the 11th king, was the father of Kuvalāśva, as is proved from the story of Uttan̄ka given under Kuvalāśva below. As kuvalāśva is not much removed from Rāma (see below), his father Brhadaśva cannot be much removed from Rāma.

One sage Bṛhadaśva is said to have narrated Nalopākhyāna to Yudhiṣṭhira. (Mbh. Vana, 52, 54-79).

Even in Purāṇas it is said that Brhadaśva retired to forest after passing on the kingdom to his son Kuvalāśva.

12. *Kuvalāśva*

Kuvalāśva, the 12th name is not much removed from Rāma Dāśarathi.

All the Purāṇas say that Kuvalāśva had killed Dhundhu and therefore was called Dhundhumāra.¹ We get the following information about this Dhundhu.

In the Mahābhārata (Vana. 201-4), it is said that Dhundhu was harassing a sage named Uttan̄ka and on Uttan̄ka's request Brhadaśva, who had left the kingdom and retired to forest, asked his son Kuvalāśva to fight against Dhundhu. Kuvalāśva went with his sons and killed Dhundhu and thereupon was called Dhundhumāra.

¹ Vy. 87, 28-59 and other Purāṇa

Now about the sage Uttāṅka, we get the following information from Mbh. (Āśva. 53-58). Uttāṅka was a pupil of Gautama and on the request of Ahalyā, the wife of Gautama, Uttāṅka acquired golden Kuṇḍalas belonging to Madayanti, the wife of Kalmāṣapāda.

Gautama and Ahalyā were Rāma's contemporaries and therefore Uttāṅka, Dhundhu and Kuvalāśva were, more or less, contemporaries of Rāma.

I shall also show that Kalmāṣapāda was not much removed from Rāma.

However, in Mbh. (Āḍi. 3rd), there is another version of Uttāṅka's story. There Uttāṅka is taken to be the pupil of Veda who himself was a pupil of Āpoda Dhaumya. According to this version Uttāṅka obtained the Kuṇḍalas from the wife of king Pausya,

If this version is true, Uttāṅka will be a contemporary of Dhaumya and Pauṣya, both of whom are at Mbh. level. Uttāṅka is actually described as a contemporary of Janamejaya in this story. In this case Kuvalāśva will be brought down to the days of Parikṣit and Janamejaya.

But the evidence of Uttāṅka's story proves that the earliest time assignable to Kuvalāśva is that of Ahalyā *i. e.* of Rāma.

(2) Now, Dhundhu, whom Kuvalāśva killed is said to have been the son of Madhu—सध्मस्य मधोः पुत्रो धुन्धुर्नाना महाबुरः (Hr. I, 11, 33; Br. 7, 63; Bd. III, 63, 29) Madhu was the founder of Madhurā and was the father of Lavana, who was killed by Śatrughna, the brother of Rāma. (Ram, VII, 63ff.). This places Kuvalāśva in the days of Rāma. Madhu himself had married Kumbhīnāsī, who was Rāvana's mother's sister.

(3) At one place, Māndhātā is called Uttāṅkapuraḥsarah (Bd. III, 73, 81) *i. e.* having Uttāṅka as his purohita. Although there is a variant reading Utathya for Uttāṅka here. If Uttāṅka is correct, it will connect Māndhātā and Kuvalāśva. And I shall later show that Māndhātā was not much removed from Rāma and thus Kuvalāśva also will not be much removed from Rāma.

(4) Dhundhumāra is connected with Agastya and others, who are at Rāma-level. Mbh. Anu, 94, 4-5 are these:

शुक्रोऽत्रिराश्वैव कविश्च विद्वा-
स्तथा ह्यमत्स्यो नारदपर्वतौ च ।
सृगुर्वसिष्ठः कश्यपो गान्धर्वश्च
विश्वामित्रो जमदग्निश्च राजन् ॥ 4
ऋषिस्तथा गालवोऽवाष्टकश्च
भरद्वाजोऽरुन्धती वालखिल्याः ।

शिबिर्दिलीपो नहुषोऽम्बरीषो ।

राजा ययातिर्पुण्ड्रमारोऽय पुरुः ॥ 5

जम्बुः पुरस्कृत्य महानुभावं

शतक्रतुं वृत्रहणं नरेन्द्राः

All these, including Agastya and Dhundhumāra went to a lake where Agastya had planted a puṣkara (lotus) and Agastya saw these ṛṣis and kings drawing out that puṣkara. Puskara was ultimately drawn out by Indra.

This incident shows the contemporaneity of Kuvalāśva (Dhundhumāra) and Śukra, Aṅgirā, Kavi, Agastya, Nārada, Parvata, Bhṛgu, Vasiṣṭha, Kaśyapa, Gautama, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Gālava, Aṣṭaka, Bharadvāja, Arundhati, Vālakhilya, Śibi, Dilīpa, Nahuṣa, Ambariṣa, Yayāti and Puru.

Out of these Vasiṣṭha, Arundhati, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Gālava (the son of Viśvāmitra) are known to be at Rāma period. Bharadvāja is at Rāma-period, as Rāma and Bharata both had stopped at his Āśrama according to Rāmāyaṇa. Even otherwise he is at Rāma-period. Thus Kuvalāśva is at Rāma period.

13. *Dr̥ḍhāśva*

Dr̥ḍhāśva, the 13th name, was the son of Kuvalāśva. He took part in the battle with Dhundhu and is described as having swallowed fire from Dhundhu's mouth. Therefore, he is at Rāma-period.

14. *Haryaśva*

The 14th king Haryaśva is not much removed from Rāma.

In the Purāṇas he is given as Dr̥ḍhāśva's son. As Dr̥ḍhāśva, the son of Kuvalāśva is at Rāma period, Haryaśva also will be at the same period.

One Haryaśva was the brother of Mūndhātā and son-in-law of Madhu, the father of Lavaṇa and Dhundhu. (See Hr. II, 38 comm.). If he is this Haryaśva he is at Rāma-period.

15-17. *Nikumbha-Saṁhatāśva-Kṛśāśva*

Nothing helpful is known about these kings.

Hr. I, 12, 4 says that Saṁhatāśva (or Kṛśāśva) had Dīṣadvatī as his wife, who was Haimavatī i.e. the daughter of Himavān. Prasenaḥjit was the son.

18. *Prasenaḥjit*

Prasenaḥjit who is given as 18th from Manu is not much removed from Rāma.

(1) In Mbh. one Prasenaḥjit is called Reṇukāś father. Vana. 116, 2 is this

स प्रसेनजितं राज्ञश्चिगम्य नराधिपम् ।

रेणुकं वरयामास स च तस्मै ददौ वृषः ॥ Vana. 116, 2.

This Reṇukā was Paraśurama's mother and thus Prasenajit, the father of Reṇukā will be very near to Rāma's days.

In the Purāṇas he is put as the father of Yuvanāśva, but it is not correct, as Yuvanāśva's father was Sudyumna. (see Yuvanāśva). Therefore this Prasenajit is likely to be Reṇukā's father.

Reṇukā's father though named differently in different Purāṇas is called Aikṣvāka (see Vn. IV, 7, 35).

19. *Yuvanāśva*

Yuvanāśva, the 19th king is at Rāma period, as he was the father of Māndhātā, whom I shall show below to be at Rāma period.

In the Purāṇas Yuvanāśva is put as the son of Prasenajit, but, by now, it must have been realised that such statements of the Purāṇas have no value, unless they are corroborated by other independent evidence.

In Mbh. Yuvanāśva is said to be the son of Sudyumna. In Vanaparva, 126, 10 and 12 he is called Saudyumni twice. According to the Purāṇas, Sudyumna was the name of the male form of Ilā, the daughter of Manu Vaivasvata. If Yuvanāśva was the son of this Sudyumna, he will be at the same step as Daṇḍa, the son of Ikṣvāku and therefore will be at Rāma period.

In Vanaparva 126, 10ff, it is said that Yuvanāśva, who had no son, went to Bhṛgu's āśrama, who performed a sacrifice for him as a result of which Māndhātā was born. Bhṛgu being the father of Cyavana is at Rāma period.

Yuvanāśva had married Gaurī, the daughter of Matināra. Mt. 49,8 says: गौरीकन्या तृतीया च मात्स्यतुर्जननी शुभा। Same is said in Hr. I, 32, 3.

Now, according to Purāṇas Matināra's great grandson was Dusyanta, the father of Bharata. I have shown that this Bharata was a contemporary of Bharadvāja, who was a contemporary of Rāma. (see 'Date of Ṛgveda', p. 8).

All this shows that Yuvanāśva is at Rāma period.

20. *Māndhātā*

Māndhātā is at Rāma period. He is a Ṛgvedic ṛṣi, being the composer of Rv. X, 134, 1-5. Being the son of Yuvanāśva he is at Rāma period. There is other evidence also to show that Māndhātā is at Rāma period.

Rāmāyana (VII, 67, 4 ff) says that Māndhātā was killed by Lavaṇa and this Lavaṇa, in his turn, was killed by Śatrughna, the brother of Rāma (Rām. VII, 63; Bg. IX, 11, 14; Bd. III, 63, 186; Vy. 88, 185; Vn. I, 12, 4; IV, 4, 101). This puts Māndhātā at Rāma period. Again, the father of this Lavaṇa was Madhu. This Madhu had married Kumbhīnasī, who was Rāvaṇa's mother's sister (Rām. VII, 25, 21-25). Thus it is definite that Māndhātā is at Rāma period.

Bg. (IX, 6, 33) says that Rāvaṇa and others trembled at the fear of Māndhātā or Trasadasya.

In Rāmāyaṇa, there is an adhyāya (VII, Guj Press) in which, an indecisive fight between Māndhātā and Rāvaṇa is described.

According to Mbh. (VII, 62, 10), Māndhātā had defeated the following kings: Janamejaya, Sudhanvā, Gaya, Puru, Br̥hadratha, Asita and Nṛga. (जनमेजय सुधन्वान गयं पूर्णं बृहद्रथम् । असितं च नृगं चैव मान्धातो मानवोज्ज्वलम् ॥). These kings are likely to have lived at Rāma period thus.

(1) Sudhanvā, the king of Sāṅkāśya, was killed by Janaka, the father of Sītā. (Rām. I, 71, 8).

(2) One Br̥hadratha escaped Paraśurāma. (Mbh. I, 2, 272)

(3) Gaya and Puru(rava), along with Duṣyanta and Gādhi submitted themselves to Rāvaṇa. Rām VII, 19,5 says

दुष्यन्तः सुरथो गार्धिगो राजा पुरुरवः ।

निजिता रमेत्यभायम्-

According to this, Duṣyanta, Gādhi (the father of Viśvāmītra), Gaya and Pururava were the contemporaries of Rāvaṇa. Gaya was the son of Amūrtarayas (Mbh. Vana, 95, 18 ff), who was Viśvāmītra's great uncle, being Kuśa's son (Ram. I, 32, 3). Thus Gaya was at Rāma period. Puru whom Māndhātā defeated may be Puru the son of Yayāti or Pururavas, whom Rāvaṇa defeated.

(4) Nṛga was Rāma's contemporary (Rām VII).

(5) Asita may be Sagara's father and Sagara, as we shall see, was at Rāma period.

Thus all these kings are connected with Māndhātā, Rāma and Rāvaṇa

According to Mbh (XII, 65, 122), Utathya and Vasuboma had given a discourse to Māndhātā. Bd. 73, 81 says

पञ्चमः पञ्चदश्यां तु त्रिताया संवभूव ह ।

मान्धाता चक्रवर्तित्वे तस्योत्थयपुरःसरः ॥

This makes Māndhātā a contemporary of Utathya.¹ Utathya was the father of Dīrghatamas. Dīrghatamas was the brother of Bharadvāja, who was a contemporary of Rāma.

There is a dialogue between Māndhātā and Sobhari in Gargasamhitā. Mādhuryakhaṇḍa. Bg. (IX, 6, 39) says that Sobhari had married fifty daughters of Māndhātā, but this seems to be a mistake. Sobhari Kāṇva is a R̥gvedic ṛṣi and he says in Rv, VIII, 19, 36.

अदान्मे पीरुकुत्स्यः पञ्चाशतं त्रसदशुर्वधूताम् ।

¹ There is a reading Uttāṅka for Utathya. Under Kuvalāśva, we have shown that Uttāṅka is at Rāma period
OJ 17

Thus it is clear that Sobhari had married 50 daughters, not of Māndhātā but of Trasadasyu.¹ Whatever it be, as Trasadasyu is only one step below Māndhātā, and as we shall see Trasadasyu is at Rāma period, this connection of Māndhātā and Sobhari puts him at Rāma period.

According to Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, Māndhātā received knowledge from Vicārin, the son of Kabandha Āthargana (Vedic Index 2, 133). If this Kabandha is the same, whom Rāma met, this will put Māndhātā at Rāma period.

Mbh. (Śānti 29, 83) says that Māndhātā had defeated Marutta. Marutta being a contemporary of Saṁvarta, the brother of Brhaspati is at Rāma period and thus is Māndhātā at the same period.

21. Purukutsa

Purāṇas say that Purukutsa was the son of Māndhātā, by Bindumati, the daughter of Śaśabindu.

शशबिन्दोर्दुहितरि बिन्दुमत्यामषाश्रुतः

पुरुकुत्समम्बरीषं सुचुकुन्दं च योगिनम् ॥ Bg. IX, 6, 38

मान्धाता शशबिन्दोर्दुहितरं बिन्दुमतीमुपयेमे ॥ Vn. IV, 2, 66

तस्य चैत्रशी भार्या शशबिन्दोः सुताभवत्

सा चैव बिन्दुमती नाम—

Vy. 87, 26, 70; Hr. I, 22, 7

Thus being Māndhātā's son, Purukutsa will be at Rāma period. But Sāyaṇa has called him Durgaha's son. RV. IV, 42, 8 is

अस्माकमत्र पितरन्त आसन्सप्तकृपयो दौर्गहे कथ्यमाने ।

ते अयाजयन्त त्रसदस्युमस्या दन्द्रं न वृत्रतुरमर्धदेवम् ॥

Here Sāyaṇa has explained 'Durgaha' as durgahasya putraḥ. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (13, 5, 5) has daurganejah as an adjective of Purukutsa,² which might mean 'born in daurgahana'. Sense of the word durgaha, here, seems to be prison and we may not take Purukutsa to be the son of Durgah only on this account.

At another place in RV (V, 33, 8), Purukutsa is called gairikṣit, which has been taken to mean as the son of Girikṣit.

Whatever it be, that Purukutsa is at Rāma period is certain. Bd. II, 66, 36 says

पौरुकुत्समवद्भार्या गाधेस्तस्यामजायत ।

¹ Bg makes Trasadasyu as another name of Māndhātā (IX, 6), but it is a mistake.

² तेन हि पुरुकुत्सो दौर्गहेणैजः ऐश्वराको राजा तस्मादेतद्विषया भ्यनूक्तमस्माकमत्र पितुस्तस्या-सप्तसप्तकृपयो दौर्गहे कथ्यमान इति Śat. Br. 13, 5, 4. 5.

According to this, daughter of Purukutsa was the wife of Gādhi, who was the father of Viśvāmitra. Thus Purukutsa was the grandfather of Viśvāmitra and is, therefore, definitely at Rāma period.

Purukutsa was a contemporary of Sudāsa who as, we shall see was at Rāma period.

22. *Trasadasyu*

Trasadasyu was the son of Purukutsa. This is quite clear from the Purāṇas and the R̥gveda. Trasadasyu is a R̥gvedic ṛṣi being the author of RV. IV, 42; V, 27; IX, 110. He calls himself Paurukutsya. As such he was Viśvāmitra's maternal uncle.

In Mbh. (Vana, 98) there is a story that Agastya went to Srutarvā, Bradhnāśva and Trasadasyu for wealth. About Trasadasyu it is said

पौरुकुत्स्यं ततो जग्मुस्वसदस्यं महाधनम् ॥ Vana. 98, 12

This makes Trasadasyu a contemporary of Agastya, who was Lopāmudrā's husband as is clear from the 97th adhyāya. Agastya was a contemporary of Rāma. Shri P. L. Bhargava in his book 'India in the Vedic Age' has suggested that this Bradhnāśva should be corrected to Vadhryāśva, which is plausible. Vadhryāśva was the father of Ahalyā and thus was at Rāma period.

23. *Samblūta (ti)*

Nothing particular is known about him but if he was Trasadasyu's son, he was at Rāma period.

24. *Anaranya*

Purāṇas, while giving the name of Anaranya at this place, put a remark that he was killed by Rāvaṇa. Lg. 65, 43-44

सम्भूतिरपरं पुत्रमनरण्यमजीजनत् ॥ 43

रावणेन हतो योऽसौ त्र्यलोक्यविजये द्विजाः ॥

Vn. IV, 3, 17 says त्रयदश्वस्तसम्भूतोऽनरण्यः यं रावणो दिग्विजये जघान ॥

Vy. 87 reads रावणो निहतो येन त्रिलोकीविजये पुनः, but there is no doubt that it should read रावणेन हतो योऽसौ as is seen in Lg.

Rāmāyaṇa (VII, 19) gives Rāvaṇa's encounter with Anaranya, the king of Ayodhyā. In this battle Anaranya was killed by Rāvaṇa.

All this shows that Anaranya was at Rāma period.

25. *Trasadaśva*

Nothing is known about him.

26. *Haryaśva*

This Haryaśva is put here as the father of Vaśumanā. Mbh. says (Ādi, 86, 5-6) that Vasumanā was the son of Haryaśva by Mādhavī the daughter of Yayāti.

Mbh. has (Udyoga, 106 ff) a story that the sage Gālava wanted 800 black-eared horses. He went to Yayāti, who gave him his daughter Mādhavī and Gālava went to four different persons, (one of whom was this Haryaśva) whom Gālava offered Mādhavī till she had a son by him and in return he gave him 200 black-eared horses. Haryaśva had, by Mādhavī a son named Vasumanā and he gave Gālava 200 black-eared horses. Gālava gave Mādhavī, in this manner to Divodāsa, Uśinara and Viśvāmitra.

Now Divodāsa was a brother of Ahalyā (Vy. 99, 200) and therefore was at Rāma period. Viśvāmitra also was at Rāma period therefore Haryaśva and Uśinara and this Yayāti and Gālava all were at Rāma period.

Again, Gālava was (Vy. 88, 97) a son of Viśvāmitra. Therefore also, all these are at Rāma period.

27. Vasumanā

Being the son of Haryaśva by Mādhavī, he belongs to Rāma period. In Mbh. he is described (Śānti. 68, 6-7; 92, 4) as asking questions to Bṛhaspati and Vāmadeva. Vāmadeva was Daśaratha's purohita (Rām. 1, 6, 4; see also my 'Date of R̥gveda' p. 20-21). Bṛhaspati, being the father of Bharadvāja, at whose āsrama Rāma had stayed for a day, is at Rāma period. Therefore, also Vasumanā belongs to Rāma period.

28. Tridhanvā

Tridhanvā is given as the father of Trayāruṇa and grandfather of Satyavrata, both of whom will be shown to belong to Rāma period.

Lg 65, 45 says

तस् पुत्रोऽभवद्राजा त्रिधन्वा भूतमावनः ॥ 45
प्रमादाद्ब्रह्मपुत्रोयं तच्छिनः प्राप्य शिष्यताम् ।
अश्वमेधसहस्रस्य फले प्राप्य तदाज्ञया ॥ 46
गौश्वयंमनुयातो भवभक्तः प्रतापवान् ।

This makes Tridhanvā a contemporary of Tanḍin. Now it is said that (Mbh. Anu. 17, 177) Śukrācārya had learnt Śivasahasranāma from Tanḍin and Sukrācārya taught the same to Gautama. Now Sukrācārya, who is the same as Uśanā was the son of grandson of Bhṛgu, who was the father of Cyavana. Therefore all these Śukrācārya, Gautama, Tanḍin and Tridhanvā are at Rāma period.

29. Trayyāruṇa

There is one Vedic ṛṣi, who is named as Trayāruṇa Traivṛṣṇa in the Anukramaṇī. He is the author of Rv. V, 27; IX, 110. This Trayyāruṇa (also spelt as Tryaruṇa, Trayyāruṇa) is the same as the Puranic Trayyāruṇa, although the names of the fathers differ. In Pāñcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, this R̥gvedic ṛṣi is named as Trayāruṇa Traidhātva Aikṣvāka (XIII, 3, 12; see Vedic Index I, p. 332).

About this ṛṣi, there is a story given that while he was driving in a chariot, a child was killed by the chariot. And then a question was raised as to who was responsible for the death—the driver or the owner of the chariot.

Here, his father's name is given as Tridhātva and in the Purāṇas it is given as Tridhanvā. They seem to be the same. His son Trayyārūṇa will be shown to belong to Rāma period and thus he too is at the same period.

And, as this Trayyārūṇa is a joint author of RV, V, 27 with Trasadasyu and as Trasadasyu has already been shown to be at Rāma period, Trayyārūṇa is also at the same period.

30. *Satyavrata*

Purāṇas, while naming this Satyavrata usually give a story about him that he took away a bride, who was being married, before the pānigrahaṇa verses were completed. His father was enraged at this and exiled him. Vasiṣṭha did not defend him and Satyavrata was angry with him. After being exiled, he lived in the locality of the śvapacas. There he supported the wife and child of Viśvāmitra, who had gone for penance. Later, Satyavrata killed the cow of Vasiṣṭha and thus he was called Triśanku, as he had committed three sins—disobedience to his father, to his guru and killing of a cow. Later, Viśvāmitra sent him to svarga.

Here Satyavrata is connected with both Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra and as both these were Rāma's contemporaries, Satyavrata was at Rāma period. The son of this Viśvāmitra is named as Gālava (who was supported by Satyavrata—Vy. 88, 97). This Gālava, we have just shown, was at Rāma period. Thus Satyavrata is at the same period.

31. *Hariścandra*

Hariścandra, in the Purāṇas, is called to be the son of Satyavrata and father of Rohita. Hariścandra, the father of Rohita, is called Vaidhasa in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (33). It is likely that Vedhas and Satyavrata are the same persons. Satyavrata and Triśanku do not seem to be the names of this person. They are likely to have been given to him for certain qualities or actions of his.

Anyway this Hariścandra is given as the father of Rohita and Hariścandra of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa is also the father of Rohita. Now about this Hariścandra Ai. Br. 33, 4 says: तस्य ह विश्वामित्रो होता जमदग्निर्वधुर्वसिष्ठो ब्रह्मा यस्य उद्गाता । Thus Hariścandra was a contemporary of Vasiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni and thus is at Rāma period. That this Hariścandra had performed Rājasūya sacrifice, is confirmed by the Purāṇas also. See Vy. 88, 117.

स हि राजा हरिश्चन्द्रस्त्वैशङ्ग इति श्रुतः ।

आहर्ता राजसूयस्य सम्राडिति विश्रुतः ॥

Thus he is at Rāma period.

32. *Rohita*

Rohita, the son of Hariścandra was evidently at Rāma period, particularly as he is connected with Viśvāmitra and others who presided at his father's Rājāsūya.

33-37. *Harita- Cañcu- Vijaya- Ruru- Ghṛtaka (or Vṛka).*

Nothing particular is known about these kings.

38 *Bāhu or Asita*

The name of the father of Sagara is given as Bāhu or Asita. Mostly it is Bāhu.

As he is the father of Sagara, and as Sagara will be shown to be at Rāma period, he, too, is at the same period.

39 *Sagara*

It is said in Rāma (I, 38)

विदर्भदुहिता राम केशिनी नाम नामतः

ज्येष्ठा सगरपत्नी सा धर्मिष्ठा सत्यवादिनी ॥ 3

अरिष्टनेमिर्दुहिता सुपर्णभगिनी तु सा

द्वितीया सगरस्यासीत् पत्नी सुमनिसंज्ञिता ॥ 4

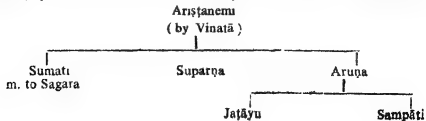
This is confirmed by Vn. which says (IV, 4, 1)

काश्यपदुहिता सुमतिर्विदर्भराजतनया केशिनी च द्वे भार्ये सगरस्यास्ताम् ।

Mt. 12, 39 calls the wives of Sagara by the name of Prabhā and Bhānumatī: but the true names seem to be Sumati and Keśinī.

Keśinī is said to be the daughter of Vidarbha. Now Vidarbha was the grandfather of Damayanti the wife of Nala, (CAI p-5). This Nala was himself the father-in-law of sage Mudgala (CAI p-5) who was the grandfather of Ahalyā (Vy. 99, 200). Therefore Mudgala, Nala, Keśinī and Sagara are at Rāma period. In Vana. 96. it is said that Lopāmudrā the wife of Agastya was Vidarbha's daughter. Thus Sagara was a contemporary of Agastya, who was at Rāma period.

Sumati, another wife of Sagara, is taken as the daughter of Ariṣṭanemi (Rām) or Kāśyapa (Vn), but she is taken as the sister of Suparna. Suparna is the son of Vinatā, the daughter of Dakṣa and wife of Ariṣṭanemi (Vy. 63, 42). This Vinatā had another son named Aruna, whose sons were Jaṭāyu and Sampātī (Vy. 68, 326-7 and other Purāṇas). The relation will stand thus—



Sagara, who is thus related to Jaṭāyu is at Rāma period.

That Sagara was a junior contemporary of Ariṣṭanemi is also seen from the fact that Ariṣṭanemi had given a discourse to Sagara (Mbh. Śānti, 288, 3)

Again, the Purāṇas say that this Sagara was brought up by Aurva (Vy. 87, 131 ff)

और्वस्तां भार्गवो दृष्ट्वा कारुण्याद्रिन्यवर्तयत् । 131

तस्याश्रमे तु तद्गर्भं सा गरेण तदा सह ।

व्यजायत महाबाहुं सगरं नाम धार्मिकम् ॥ 132

और्वस्तु जातकर्मादीन् कृत्वा तस्य महात्मनम्,

अभ्याप्य वेदशास्त्राणि ततोऽर्थं प्रत्यपादयत् ॥ 133

जामदग्न्याणदाम्रेयमसुरैरपि दुःसहं

स तेनाश्रवलेनैव बलेन च समन्वितः ॥ 134

जघान हैहयान्

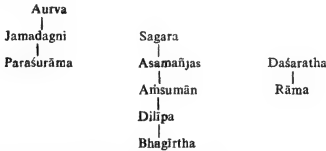
Thus, Sagara is connected with Aurva and Jāmadagnya i.e. Paraśurāma. He must have been almost of the same age as Paraśurāma.

Sagara was, thus, at Rāma period.

40-43 Asamañjas-Ariṣumār-Dilipa-Bhagīratha

All the Purāṇas and Mbh. (Vana, 107) confirm the following genealogy of Sagara: Sagara-Asamañjas-Ariṣumār-Dilipa-Bhagīratha.

Now, Sagara being a contemporary of Aurva and Paraśurāma, the relation will stand thus :



Thus, all these four kings are at Rāma level.

About Bhagīratha Mbh. (Anu, 136, 26-27) says:

कौत्साय दत्त्वा कन्यां तु हंसीनाम् यशस्विनीम् ।

गतोऽक्षयानतो लोकान् राजर्षिश्च भगीरथः ॥ 26

दत्त्वा शतसहस्रं तु गवां राजा भगीरथः ।

सर्वत्सानां कोहलाय गन्गे लोकाननुत्तमान् ॥ 27

Now, Kautsa was an Udgātā at Janamejaya's sarpaśatra (Mbh. Ādi 53, 6) and Kohala also was present at the same sarpaśatra (Ādi 53, 9). In Raghu-

varīṣa, there is a dialogue between Kautsa and Raghu, where Kautsa is yet a boy, just out of his school. In Skanda, (Vaiṣṇavakhaṇḍa, Ayodhyāmāhātmya, 5th adhyāya) it is said that this Kautsa, who went to Raghu, was Viśvāmītra's pupil.

This would make Bhagīratha a contemporary (probably senior) of Janamejaya. As I have already said that distance between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa is hardly of one or two steps, this should not be impossible.

Hr. (I, 15, 13-14) calls this Dilīpa as Khatvāṅga.

44 Śruta

If he was Bhagīratha's son, he is at the same period, otherwise nothing helpful is known about him

45-47 Nābhāga-Ambarīṣa-Sindhuvīpa

It is said in the Purāṇas that Manu Vaivasvata had a son named Nābhāga, who had one son named Ambarīṣa. But Sindhuvīpa does not occur there (See Vy. 64, 29; 88, 5-6; Bd. III, 60, 3)

Sindhuvīpa Āmbarīṣa is a Rgvedic ṛṣi (RV, X, 9) and Ambarīṣa Vārṣāgīra is a ṛṣi of RV, I, 100; IX, 98. This gives us Sindhuvīpa-Ambarīṣa-Vṛṣāgīra.

In my opinion, some one has confounded between these two Ambarīṣas and has created these three kings (Or else Nābhāga and Vṛṣāgīra may be the same person.)

However, all these three are vouchsafed by independent evidence. Nābhāga and Ambarīṣa are known to the Purāṇas and Ambarīṣa, the son of Nābhāga is well-known to Mbh. Nābhāga Ambarīṣa is given in Drona 64 and also in Śānti 29, 100-1. Ambarīṣa Nābhāga is referred to in Vana. 129, 2. Ambarīṣa Nābhāga is referred to in Śānti 98, 3. Thus it is clear that there was an Ambarīṣa, the son of Nābhāga. That there was an Ambarīṣa, the son of Vṛṣāgīra is clear from the Rk-anukramaṇī.

In Mbh. Anu. 94, Ambarīṣa Nābhāga is made a contemporary of Agastya (and therefore of Rāma). Sindhuvīpa is a joint author of RV, X, 98 with Rjīśvā who is the son of Bharadvāja.

Thus, it is very likely that all these three are at Rāma period.

48 Ayutāya

Nothing is known about him.

49 Rūparṇa

Rūparṇa was a contemporary of Nala, as is clear from Nalopākhyāna (Vana. 52-78). Now this Nala, as we have said, was the father-in-law of Mudgala, who was the father of Vadhryaśva whose daughter was Ahalyā

(CAI pp. 3-6). About this king Purāṇas say : दिव्याक्षुदयजोऽसौ राजा नलसखो बली ॥ Vy. 87, 172.

And thus R̥tuparna is at Rāma period.

50 Sarvakāma

Nothing is known about him. He is omitted by Kalki, Bg, Lg, Saura, Km, Mt, Pm, Ag.

51 Sudāsa

Sudāsa is put as the son of Sarvakāma by the Purāṇas, but it is not so. He is known to Ṛgveda as Sudāsa Paṇjavana. i.e. the son of Piṇjavana (RV. VII, 18, 22).

In the Purāṇas and Mbh. he is called the father of Kalmāsapāda, and as latter will be shown to belong to Rāma period, he is at the same period. Moreover, in the famous Dāśarājña battle of the Ṛgveda, Sudāsa is described as connected with Vaśiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra both by turns, and as both these are at Rāma period, Sudāsa also belongs to the same period.

Sk. (Nāgarakhaṇḍa, 246-7) has a dialogue between Gālava and Paṇjavana. This makes Sudāsa a contemporary of Gālava, the son of Viśvāmitra

52 Kalmāsapāda

This king is also called Mitrasaha (Ādi. 175, 1). He is called Saudasi (Anu. 78, 1-2), the son of Sudāsa.

As we have said earlier under Kuvalāśva this king was connected with Uttanka and as Uttanka is at Rāma period, he is also at the same period

He was cursed by Śakti the son of Vaśiṣṭha (Ādi. 175, 13-4). Vaśiṣṭha himself later, procreated a son on Madayanti, the wife of Kalmāsapāda. This son was named Āsmaka. Kalmāsapāda, thus being a contemporary of Vaśiṣṭha and Śakti (the grandfather of Dvāpāyana Vyāsa) was at Rāma period.

In Vasudeva Hirṇi, an Apabhramśa work of the 6th century, A.D. there is a story of Narabhakḥ Puruṣāda Saudāsa. According to that story this, Kalmāsapāda Saudāsa was killed by Vasudeva, the father of Kṛṣṇa. (Guj. trans., p. 255-57).

Thus also this king will belong to Rāma period. This will also show that the distance between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa was hardly of a generation or two.

53 Āsmaka

He is the son of Madayanti (the wife of Kalmāsapāda) by Vaśiṣṭha, the father of Śakti. He is thus at Rāma period.

54 Urakāma

He is also called Sarvakarmā in some Purāṇas. In Mbh. (Śānti, 49, 76-77) 018

the Earth talks of the Kṣatriyas, who were saved from Paraśurama's wrath. One of these was Sarvakarmā.

तयानुकम्पमानेन यज्यतामिति तौजसा ॥ 76

पराशरेण दायादः सौदासस्यामिश्रितः ।

सर्वकर्माणि कुरुते शुद्रवत्स्य स द्विजः ॥ 77

सर्वकर्मैत्यमिश्रितः

This Sarvakarmā, who is here called the son of Saudāsa i.e. Kalmāsapāda, was protected from Paraśurama's wrath by Parāśara. As we have seen, Śakti, the father of Parāśara, was killed by Kalmāṣapāda and Vasiṣṭha had procreated Aśmaka on Madayanti the wife of Kalmāsapāda. Thus this Sarvakarmā, who is said to be Kalmāṣapāda's son and a contemporary of Parāśara, was at Rāma period.

55 Mūlaka

About this Mūlaka, Purāṇas have preserved a memorial verse which says that he was constantly afraid of Paraśurāma and therefore always kept himself surrounded by women

स हि रामभयाद्राजा स्त्रीभिः परिवृतोऽवयन ।

विष्वक्त्राणमिच्छन् वै नारीकवचमधुरः ॥ Vy, 8, 178

Thus being a contemporary of Paraśurāma, he is at Rāma period

About nos. 50-59, there is some confusion and I have discussed the same in 'Purāṇic chronology,' p 347-9.

56 Śataratha

Nothing particular is known about him.

57 Aṭṭaviḍa

See Dilipa below

58-9 Kṛtaśarmā-Viśvasaha

Nothing particular is known about them. They are mentioned by very few Purāṇas and are dropped by many.

60 Dilipa

Purāṇas say that this Dilipa was called Khatvāṅga (Bg. IX, 9, 41-9 & other Purāṇas). Mbh. (Drona, 61; Śānti 29) mentions a king who is named there as Dilipa Ailavila Khatvāṅga. Now our no. 57 Aṭṭaviḍa is variously spelt as Aṭṭaviḍa (Vy., Bg., Bd.), Valvīla (Km.), Ailavila, as it is a matronymic from Ilavilā as pointed out by Pargiter (AIHT p 39 and 241)

Now I take this Ailavila as an adjective of Dilipa. In Mbh. as pointed out above Dilipa is actually called Ailavila.

I think the mistake has occurred due to some confusion in the text. Let us compare the texts of Br. and Hr.

Br. अनमित्रमुतो राजा विद्वान्दुलिदुहोऽभवत् ।

दिलीपस्तनयस्तस्य रामस्य प्रपितामहः ॥ 8, 84

Hr. अनमित्रस्य धर्मात्मा विद्वान्दुलिदुहोऽभवत् ।

दिलीपस्तनयस्तस्य रामप्रपितामहः ॥ 15, 24

Here we find that Br. text is evidently wrong. Br. calls Dilīpa to be Rāma's prapitāmaha, but he is really Rāma's prapritāmaha as is given in Hr. I also think that the change of anamitrasya (Hr.) to anamitrasuto (Br.) is not warranted. It is possible to reconstruct Hr. reading thus:

तस्य अनमित्रस्य तनयः धर्मात्मा विद्वान् रामप्रपितामहः एलविलः

(taking duldaha as scribe's error) दिलीपः अभवत्.

But Mbh. is very clear in taking Ailavila as the adjective of Dilīpa. And therefore this Dilīpa was called Ailavila and Khatvāṅga. He was also called Kakutsha as I have suggested under Kakutsha the 4th name. Pulastya's (the grandfather of Rāvana) wife was Ilavilā, the daughter of Tṛṇabindu. (Vn. IV, 1, 47). Has Dilīpa Ailavila anything to do with this Ilavilā?

61 *Dirghabāhu*

After Dilīpa Dīrghabāhu is recognised as independent king by all except Br, Hr., Ag, Sv. But I think that he is not an independent king. Mistake has arisen from the misreading of Br and Hr texts, both of which make dīrghabāhu as an adjective of Raghu. The texts read thus:

दीर्घबाहुर्दिलीपस्य रघुर्नाम्ना मुतोऽभवत् । Br. 8, 85

दीर्घबाहुर्दिलीपस्य रघुर्नाम्नाऽभवत्मुतः । Hr. 55, 25

अनर्ण्यात् निष्प्लोऽथ दिलीपस्तन्मुतोऽभवत् ।

तस्य राजा रघुर्जज्ञे तन्मुतोऽपि ह्यज्ञोऽभवत् Ag. 273, 32-33.

Thus Dīrghabāhu is an adjective of Raghu which has been made into an independent king by other Purāṇas. (See my Puranic chronology, p. 350).

62-65 *Raghu-Aja-Daśaratha-Rāma*

Nothing needs to be said about these kings.

This study of these 65 names brings out the following facts.

1. I have been able to show that Aīḍaviḍa and Dīrghabāhu are not independent kings. Aīḍaviḍa is an adjective of Dilīpa and Dīrghabāhu of Raghu. Kakutsha also is not an independent king, as in my opinion, it is an epithet of Dilīpa Khatvāṅga (no 60). This accounts for 3 names.

2. Two more names Kṛtaśarmā and Viśvamaha (nos. 58-59) I have rejected on textual grounds. This accounts for 5 names.

3. I have not been able to locate the following names.

(1) Anenā-Pṛthu-Vṛṣadaśva-Andhra-Yuvanāśva-Śrāvasta (6)

(2) Nikumbha-Sambatāśva-Kṛśāśva (3)

- (3) Trasadaśva (1)
- (4) Harita-Cañcu-Vijaya-Ruru-Ghṛtaka (or Vṛka) (5)
- (5) Ayutāyu (1)
- (6) Śataratha (1)

Thus about these 17 names nothing particular is known. This accounts for 22 names.

4. It has been shown that remaining 43 names are all at Rāma period and are made up of several collateral branches as under.

- (1) Manu-Ikṣvāku-Vikukṣi (3)
- (2) Bṛhadaśva-Kuvalāśva-Dṛḍhāśva (3)
- (3) Haryaśva (1)
- (4) Prasenajit (1)
- (5) Yuvanāśva-Māndhātā-Purukutsa-Trasadasyu-Sambhūta (5)
- (6) Anarnya (1)
- (7) Haryaśva-Vasumanā (2)
- (8) Tridhanvā-Trayyāruna-Satyavrata-Hariścandra-Rohita (5)
- (9) Bāhu-Sagara-Asamañjas-Amśumān-Dilīpa-Bhīgīratha-Śruta (7)
- (10) Nābhāga (?) - Anbarīṣa-Sindhudvīpa (3)
- (11) Ṛtuparṇa-Sarvakūma (?) (2)
- (12) Śudāsa-Kalmāṣapūda-Aśmaka-Sarvakarmā-Mūlaka (5)
- (13) Dilīpa (also called Kakutstha, Ailavīla, Khatvāṅga) - Raghu-Aja-
Daśaratha-Rāma (5)

These 43 kings are shown to be at Rāma period. These are in all 65 names. If we deduct $3 + 2 = 5$ names mentioned under 1 and 2 above, we have 60 names. Out of these 60 names, 43 are definitely at Rāma period.

And all this proves that the chronological distance between Manu Vivasvata and Rāma was not of more than three or four generations. I would put Dilīpa, Rāma's praprapitāmaha at the same step as Vivasvat.

Of course, it will be asked why are these small collateral branches made out into one long lineal genealogy. Answer to this question has been already furnished in my 'Puranic chronology', where I have shown that the Purāṇas have employed a method, which I have called Manvantara-Caturyuga-Method (MCM). According to this method, each king-name in the genealogy meant a time-unit of 40 years; and because in the days of Parikṣit they had taken a Yuga to have 1000 years and because they wanted, according to that calculation, 2840 years from Manu to Parikṣit, they had put 71 names in this genealogy and later the number was raised to 91 to 94 for a specific purpose. All this has been amply shown in my 'Puranic chronology'.

Before closing this study of this genealogy I want to draw attention on one point. I have, here, given several collateral branches. But I am not quite sure about the succession even there. e.g. :

(1) Purukutsa may or may not be the son of Māndhātā. I am sure about Sudyumna-Yuvanaśva-Māndhātā and I am sure about Purukutsa-Trasadasyu.

(2) Satyavrata may or may not be Tryarūṣas's son. Hariścandra also may not be Satyavrata's son. Satyavrata may be an epithet of Hariścandra himself. After all Hariścandra's father may be Vedhas.

(3) In the Sagara branch also Bāhu-Sagara seem to be sure; but about others I am not sure. e. g. Dilīpa may not be there at all.

(4) So about the branch in which Kalmāṣapāda occurs. Sudasa-Kalmāsa-pāda-Aśmaka are sure.

(5) The last branch of Daśaratha and Rāma also may not be what it is given. Aja-Daśaratha-Rāma seem to be guaranteed by Mbh. (Vana, 274, 6) and both the genealogies given in Rāmāyana. Raghu may not be the father of Aja. Dilīpa and Raghu may be father and son or even may not be, though I am slightly inclined to the first view. In this case Dilīpa may be the son of Ilavila daughter of Tīnabindu and wife of Pulastya, the grandfather of Ravana.

And this should not surprise us. These genealogies are made up of several bits of branches and when they made them lineal they made every succeeding name to be the son of preceding name, but that is not true.

I have taken it that those names which I have not been able to identify here should belong to Ikṣvāku family and that is why I have not considered names like Anenā. But my study of other genealogies of the Purāṇas has created a feeling in me that the Purāṇakāras have not been always scrupulous even in this. And sometimes they have put in Solar genealogy, names of Lunar genealogy, or in one branch names of another branch.

There are certain sages like Vasiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra, Bharadvāja, Dīrghatamas, who are connected with these kings. In my future studies I shall show that they are also at Rāma period. I shall also show that all the other Puranic genealogies (except the Kali ones) are made up of branches and those kings also are at Rāma period.

FRESH LIGHT ON THE LIFE OF VARĀHAMIHIRA

By

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As in the case of many other celebrities of Sanskrit literature, our knowledge about the life and times of Varāhamihira, one of the greatest astronomer-astrologers of ancient India, is also very scanty. In the following lines it is proposed to shed new light on two points connected with Varāhamihira's life.

1. Varāhamihira's Birth-place

In the course of centuries a number of legends and traditions have clustered around Varāhamihira, but the only authentic information about his life is contained in the following verse from the Upasamhārādhyāya of his *Bṛhujātaka* :—

*Ādityadāsa-tanayas=tad-avāpta-bodhah Kāpitthake savitr-labdha-vara-prasādah |
Āvantiko muni-matāny=avalokya samyag=ghoṣām Varāhamihiro tucirām cakāra ||*

According to this verse, Varāhamihira was an inhabitant of Avanti (Ujjayinī) and a son of Ādityadāsa from whom he had studied through the blessings of the Sun god at a place called Kāpitthaka. It would appear from this stanza that Kāpitthaka was the place of birth of Varāhamihira and that it was at a later phase in his life that he adopted Ujjayinī as his residence. It must be mentioned, however, that manuscripts give several variants of the place-name such as Kāmpilyaka,¹ Kāmpilaka,² Kāpiṣṭhala,³ Kāpiṣkala,⁴ and Kāpitthaka.⁵ It is difficult to say which of the readings is really intended. Kāpitthaka is, however, the most popular reading.⁶ Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandita Sudhākara Dvivedī follows the reading Kāmpilyaka and suggests that it should be identified with Kalpi near Jhansi in Uttar Pradesh.⁷ This view is, however, untenable, for the ancient name of Kalpi was Kālapriya, not Kāmpilyaka. According to Bhaṭṭotpala, Kāpitthā was a village where there was a Sun temple (*Kāpitth-*

¹ *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, IV, p. 11, No 1376.

² *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 211-12, No 2453

³ *Triennial Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras, Vol. V, Part 1, p. 6587, No. 4479; VI, Pt. 1, p. 7196, No. 5133

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7196, No 5233. Also cf Nos 2806, 3455

⁵ The *Dauvāṇa-vallabhā* attributed to Varāhamihira ends with almost the same verse as *BJ*, XXVIII. 9 cited above, cf. *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, IV (1878), pp. 206-07, No. 1633.

⁶ Even otherwise Kāpiṣṭhala (Kathal in Punjab) and Kāmpilyaka or Kāmpilaka (Kampil, one of the ancient Pañāla capitals) appear to be wide off the mark and as such do not deserve serious consideration.

⁷ *Gaṇaka-taraṅgiṇī*, p 11.

ākhye-grāme yo'sau bhagavān savitā sūryas=tasmāl=labdhaḥ prāpto varāḥ prasādaya). The place is generally identified with the village of Kayatha, situated at a distance of about 12 miles from Ujjain on the Ujjain-Maksi Road.¹ Recently the Vikram University, Ujjain, conducted archaeological excavations at Kayatha which have revealed the existence of an early culture at the site going back to the second millennium B. C. Remains of the statues of Sūrya and other Brāhmaṇical deities, which may be assigned to the period between 600 and 900 A.D., have also been found. It is also reported that the *kapittha* trees grow in abundance at and near about Kayatha and that a number of legends about Varāhamihira are still current there.² But these facts, howsoever convincing they may appear to be, do not warrant by themselves the identification of the village of Kayatha as Varāhamihira's Kāpittha or Kāpitthaka. The point at issue is neither the abundance of the *kapittha* trees nor the antiquity of the place. There are so many places where *kapittha* trees can be seen in large numbers, but they are not, for the matter of that, known by a name connected with that tree. The only point that the excavations may be taken to have established is that the place is quite ancient. They cannot go beyond it. The discovery of remains of Brāhmaṇical images shows that there must have been some Brāhmaṇical temples there as there were at many other places of antiquity. The legends about Varāhamihira said to be current at Kayatha appear to have been introduced after some scholars⁴ suggested in our own times Varāhamihira's connection with that place. This identification may be accepted only if it is shown that Kayatha was anciently called Kāpitthaka. No such evidence has so far come to light.

There is, however, an interesting evidence bearing on the question under consideration in the account (*Si-yu-ki*) of Yuan Chwang who visited India less than a century after the flourishing period of Varāhamihira. The Chinese pilgrim informs us that the town of Sāṅkāśya (modern Sankisa in the Farrukhabad district of Uttar Pradesh) was also known as Kuh-pi-t'a which has been restored as Kapitha.⁵ Phonetically, Kapitha is very close to our Kāpittha. There can be no doubt whatever about the high antiquity of Sāṅkāśya. It is mentioned in the *Rāmāyana* and in the *Abhidhānatthadīpikā*.⁶ The importance of the city of Sāṅkāśya in the Maurya period is clear from the fact that Aśoka chose it as one of the places for the erection of his columns. In the seventh century A.D. it was a stronghold of both the Buddhists and of the followers of Brāhmaṇical religion. Along with the four Buddhist monasteries with about 1000 inmates all belonging to the Sammitiya school, Yuan Chwang found there ten Deva-

¹ *Vikrama-smṛti-grantha* (Hindi), pp. 263, 356.

² For this information I am indebted to Professor K. D. Bajpai.

³ E.g. Pandit Suryanarayana Vyas.

⁴ T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 333.

⁵ Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (6th ed.), pp. 54, 198.

temples belonging to the Śaivas. In the light of these facts it appears to be more reasonable to identify Varāhamihira's Kāpitthaka with Yuan Chwang's Kapitha or Sāṅkāśya. It may thus be concluded that Varāhamihira was born and received his education at Sāṅkāśya and later migrated to Ujjain, evidently because of its high reputation as a centre of learning, especially in the field of Jyotiṣa.

2. *Varāhamihira versus Buzūrmehr*

According to Ferishta, the king of India sent the *Pañcatantra* with a chess-board to Khusraw Nūshirwān (531-578 A.D.), king of Persia, who had it translated into Pahlvi by his minister Buzūrmehr.¹ Professor M. T. Patwardhan² and, following him, Dr. A. N. Upadhye³ have suggested that Buzūrmehr of this tradition might have been the same as Varāhamihira. Dr. Upadhye's arguments in support of his theory may be summarised as follows:—

1. The word *mihira* in his name might, in view of the Persian and Avestan prototype of that word, imply some foreign influence. Though the claim of foreign influence is plausible, it is not a necessity; "by anaptyxis we can have (from the Vedic word *mitra*) *mitira-mihira* on the analogy of *kāṭara-kāhala*". The word *varāha* (a hog), forming first part of a personal name is not quite plausible. Thus it is not quite impossible that Varāhamihira's name might have some foreign tinge. This confirms the tradition that he lived in a foreign country for some time.

2. The word *varāha* is a corruption of *bṛhat* from the root *bṛh*, a secondary root from *vr̥dh*. In view of the rules of phonetic corruption the most natural change of *bṛhat* would be *barāha*, then *varāha*. His (Varāhamihira's) original name might have been Bṛhanmitra and at an early age he got an opportunity to spend some time in a foreign country, probably Persia, where he was known as Varāhamihira or by some such akin name. But Varāhamihira itself is a more easily pronounceable form of Buzūrmehr.

3. The presence of the word *bṛhat* in the titles of two of his works might not be accidental; the author might be indicating his own name there, for though the "*Bṛhat-jātaka*" may be in contrast to his *Laghu-jātaka*, but it must be remembered that there is no *Laghu-samhitā* as against the *Bṛhat-samhitā*, a title like *Garga-samhitā* etc."

The theory is indeed ingenious but the arguments adduced in its favour do not carry conviction. There is no need to resort to anaptyxis to derive the word *mihira* from Vedic *mitra*. There is nothing unusual in the word *mihira* forming part of the name of a person who is known to have been a devout follower of

¹ Brigg, *Ferishta*, I, pp 149-50.

² *Umarakhayāmachyā Rubāyā* (Marathi), notes, p 3, cited by Dr. Upadhye.

³ *IHQ*, 1933, pp. 984-986.

the Persian form of Sun-cult which was introduced in India sometime about the beginning of the Christian era. In fact the word MIPO, which is phonetically closest to *mihira*, occurs as the designation of the Sun god on some coins of the Kuṣāṇa kings Kaniška and Huviška.¹

There no doubt exists a tradition to the effect that Varāhamihira visited a foreign country. Firstly, in the absence of reliable data it is not possible to ascertain the veracity of this tradition. Secondly, even admitting that there is some truth in this tradition, the country he visited must have been Greece or Rome, for he exhibits a good understanding of Greek astrology, uses some thirty-five Sanskritised Greek astronomical terms² and extols highly the proficiency of Greeks in astrology.³

The word *varāha* in a personal name may not be quite palatable but, as admitted by Dr. Upadhye himself, is not quite unprecedented. Even such opprobrious names as Śunahśepha, Kauṇapadanta, Vātavyādhi and Śvetāśvatara are known to early Indian literature. Even the word *varāha* as a part of personal names or as an independent name is found in several early inscriptions.⁴

The word *brhat* is used by Varāhamihira in the titles of four, not two as stated by Dr. Upadhye, of his works, viz. *Brhājyātaka*, *Brhatsamhitā*, *Brhadyātrā*, *Brhadvivāhapataḥ*. Further, it does not indicate the author's name but stands in contrast to the abridged versions of these works. Thus, just as we have a *Laghujyātaka* in contrast to the *Brhājyātaka*, so also we have a *Śulpa-* or *Samāsa-samhitā* as against the *Brhatsamhitā*. A number of verses from this abridged version are quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary on the *Brhatsamhitā*. I have recently edited these quotations with a short introduction and notes.⁵

Even admitting for a moment that Varāhamihira visited Persia, it would appear to be extremely strange that in his own works he should have referred to himself and should have been known in his native country (India) not by his original name, Brhanmitra according to Dr. Upadhye, but by a name which is a corruption of its foreign form (Buzūrmehr).

To sum up, the identification of Varāhamihira with Buzūrmehr of Persian tradition is not tenable.

¹ Allen, H Wood III, *The Gold Coin-Types of the Great Kuṣāṇas*, pp. 8, 11, 21 etc.

² H. Kern (ed.), *Brhatsamhitā*, Introduction, pp. 28-29, fn 1, Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, pp. 254-255

³ *Brhatsamhitā*, II.14.

⁴ Cf. Luders' List, No. 1131; Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 9, 13, 67, 1195, 1196, 1323, 1712.

⁵ *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, Vol. XXIII.

THE ROBBERS OF THE FORESTS

By

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According to the P.T.S. Pāli-English Dictionary, the word *atavi* means 'a forest', 'an inhabitant of the forests' or 'a wild tribe'. Reference is made to the expression *aṭavi-corā* (robbers of the forest) in the commentary of *jātaka*, Vol. VI, No. 55, and *aṭavi-rakṣika* (interpreted as 'guardian of the forest') occurring in *Jātaka*, Vol. II, No. 335. Mention is also made of the expression *aṭavi sankopa* used in some manuscripts of the *Anguttaranikāya* (cf. Vol. I, p. 178) in the sense of 'inroad of savage tribes'.

The *aṭavi-rakṣika* was, however, really 'a forest-guard' and not 'a guardian of the forest'. In *Jātaka*, Vol. II, No. 265 (*Khuṇḍappa-jātaka*), they are described as living in a village near a forest and as taking the responsibility of helping travellers and caravans in passing through the forest without being robbed by the dacoits inside it. The story relates as to how a merchant of Vārāṇasī paid one thousand coins to an *aṭavi-rakṣika* who saved him from the attack of a gang of 500 armed robbers in the forest. The *Ḍeḍḍhī-jātaka* (Vol. I, No. 48) speaks of a forest through which passed the road between the Vātthāsī and Cedi countries and wherein at least two gangs of 500 dacoits each made the lives and property of the travellers utterly unsafe. Of course 500 in these cases is a conventional number. In any case, these forest-robbers were either the forest-folk or outsiders who made the forest the field of their nefarious activities. Other haunts of the dacoits were the waters and deserts though we are not concerned with them for the present. Piracy on Indian waters is well attested by both Indian and foreign writers, while the depredations of the Hurs in the deserts of Sind and Baluchistan persist even today.

There is some evidence to show that often the forest-folk were habitually criminal and lived on robbery. The *Sattigumma-jātaka* (Vol. IV, No. 503) speaks of a *cora-grāma* (robber's village) on the slope of a hill in the woods of the Pañcāla country. A well-known tale in the *Pañcatantra* (Section I) relates to the Foolish Friend and the Sensible Enemy. According to the second of the two stories, a group of five travellers was passing through a forest-village of the aboriginal Kirātas who attacked them for the purpose of robbing them of their wealth as they used to do in the case of rich people passing by that road. Arthur W. Ryder's translation of the *Pañcatantra* (p. 201) describes the village as 'a Bhil village nestling in a rugged bit of jungle'. The story makes it clear that the forest folk of the said village were habitual dacoits. The well-known story of Jimutavāhana in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Taraṅga XXII)

mentions a gang of robbers who were foresters and one of whom was the Śabara chief Pulindaka. Among other stories offering similar evidence in the said work, mention may be made of Taraṅga XXXVII speaking of a village of robbers in a forest, who earned their living by dacoity. For such accounts of wild robber tribes like the Bhilla, Kirāta, Śabara and Pulinda, the students may be referred to M. Bloomfield's excellent article entitled 'On organised Brigandage in Hindu Fiction' appearing in the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 205 ff. It may be noted that Al-Birūnī regarded the Kirātas as mountaineers and the Pulindas as hunters of the plains, who were robbers (Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 262).

That roads passing through forests were not safe in early and medieval India for travellers, especially pilgrims and traders, is clear from numerous other stories and accounts. According to the *Life of Huen-tsang* by Shaman Hui-h, the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang who visited India in the second quarter of the seventh century, encountered a gang of 50 bandits in a great forest of *palāśu* trees near the town of Śākala, modern Sialkot in the Punjab. The pilgrim and his companions were deprived of their clothes and other belongings and were pursued by the robbers with drawn swords. A Brāhmana peasant who happened to appear on the scene with 80 armed followers, succeeded in dispersing the robbers and saving the lives of the victims (Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 146). The armed followers of the peasant appear to have been no other than the forest-guards mentioned in the Jātaka literature referred to above.

We also know that criminal activities of the same type persisted till quite recent times. G. F. Whitworth says that there were dacoits who were robbers by profession and brought up their children to the same occupation. They were banditti with strongholds to retire to and often committed raids on a large scale, a gang in some cases numbering several hundreds (*Anglo-Indian Dictionary*, s.v. *Dacoit*).

The word *aṭṭarī* is used in the sense of the habitually criminal forest-folk in Rock Edict XIII of the great Maurya emperor Aśoka (c. 272-232 B.C.) In this edict, Aśoka explains the change in his internal and external policies instituted after the horrible experience of the Kalinga war in which 100,000 people died in action, 1,50,000 were carried away captive apparently to be sold in the slave market and many times that number died due to the famine and pestilence resulting from wars. This change of policy was indicated by the king by stating that he had renounced the approach of settling disputes by warfare altogether and was eager to win the heart of the peoples within his own empire as well as in the dominions of the neighbouring kings by love and toleration and by preaching the ideals of what he called Dharma. And in the same context he declared that 'even if a person should wrong him, the offence would

be forgiven'. But he was conscious of the fact that it was not possible for the king to forgive all crimes, and that is why he added a clause to the sentence to say, 'the offence would be forgiven if it is possible to forgive it'. It is indeed interesting to note that, at the same breath, Aśoka made the significant statement, "And the forest-folk (*Aṭavi*) who live in the dominions of the Beloved of the Gods (i.e. Aśoka), even then he entreats and exhorts (in regard to their duty). It is (hereby) explained to them that, in spite of his repentance, the Beloved of the Gods possesses power (enough to punish them for their crimes) so that they should turn (from evil ways) and would not be killed (for their crimes)".¹

The habitually criminal nature of the *Aṭavi* or forest-folk seems to be quite clear from the section of Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka cited above

¹ See Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, 2nd ed., 1965, p 35; *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 53.

SIVAISM IN BALI

Two Hypotheses

By

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A. When J. O. van Leur wrote his 'Eenige beschouwingen betreffende den ouden Aziatischen handel' (Ph.D. thesis Leiden; den Boer, Middelburg, 1934), translated as 'On early Asian trade' in his 'Indonesian trade and society, Essays in Asian social and economic history' (publ. W. van Hoeve, The Hague-Bandung, 1955) he developed the following new hypothesis about Hindu 'colonisation' in his third chapter (III/viii):

'The Indian priesthood was called eastwards—certainly because of its wide renown—for the magical, social legitimization of dynastic interests..... The official religious activities of these overseas states alike show the unmistakable imprint of Indian civilization on..... Indonesia.....'

This postulate or hypothesis has been received favourably by those working in the field, and though Mrs M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofs, in her 'Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630' (Nijhoff, The Hague, 1963) has directed her criticisms to other parts of his book, this theory has not been refuted. But, neither has it been substantiated, as far as I know. Real proof will be difficult to find. But in Balinese writings passages can be found leading in the same direction as Van Leur's claim, thus supporting it to some extent.

B. When Sylvain Lévi, after a few weeks' stay in Bali in 1928, wrote his 'Sanskrit Texts from Bālī' (GOS LXVII, 1933), he remarked (p. IX bottom). 'If the traveller happens to be admitted into the house of a local 'priest, or a *pédanda* as they call him, he will witness the same worship that is practised all over India, a regular *Sandhyā sevana*.'

This is not true; the sources forming the basis of this assertion are four, viz.,

- (a) *Aghora-Sivācārya-paddhati*, discussed at length by Carl Gustav Diehl in his 'Instrument and Purpose, Studies on Rites and Rituals in South India' (Gleerups, Lund, 1956);
- (b) 'Das *Pūjāvidhinarūpaṇa* des Trimalla' by Fausta Nowotny, JII I, 1957, pp. 109-54;
- (c) 'Rauravāgama, Vol. I' by N. R. Bhatt, Publication de l'Institut Français d'Indologie No. 18, Pondichéry 1961 (Maisonneuve, Paris VIe);

- (d) 'Somaśambhupaddhati, Le rituel quotidien dans la tradition śivaïte de l'Inde du Sud selon Somaśambhu, première partie' (id., *ibid.* No. 25, 1963).

In my 'Sūrya-Sevana, The Way to God of a Balinese Śiva Priest' (in course of being printed and to be published by the North Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam), a rather detailed, though not exhaustive, comparison has been made between South Indian daily ritual and daily ritual in Bali, as a result of which I came to the conclusion that though numerous 'building materials' and tendencies are common to them, there are fundamental differences in structure, and that these differences invalidate Lévi's statement. These factors require an explanation and, in the hope of promoting discussion, I venture to present a hypothesis, seen exclusively from the Balinese side, to account for them.

A. Hinduism reached the Indonesian archipelago in the first half of the first millennium A.D. The 'support' I offer to Van Leur's hypothesis on Bali's Hinduism—and it is only a 'support' and not an attempt to *prove* his theory—dates from the second half of the second millennium, about 1500 A.D. to be more precise. Van Leur envisaged Hindu priests going from India to pre-Hindu Indonesia in remote times, whereas 'my' Brahmin priests originate from Majapahit, Java's capital, which had declined in importance by the middle of the 16th century, and cross to a Bali, already Hinduized to a certain extent.

The first priest bore the unpromising name of Nirartha (disadvantage, lack of sense, destitute) but, nevertheless, the then King of Bali Vatu Renggong, who resided in Gēlgēl-Sveccapura, thought it advantageous to himself to receive his *dikṣā*, consecration. He therefore sent one of his highest functionaries the court poet, Pangéran Davuh Balé Agung ('Commanding in the Council Hall'), to invite Nirartha to court. The poet, who conducted a learned conversation with him, was much impressed by his erudition, in which there was no 'lack of sense'. Finally, everybody hastened to serve Nirartha who wrought miracles by being *siddha-mantra*, one whose formulas were effectual. He begat many sons from whom the present-day Balinese Śiva priests are descended, and was therefore also considered to be rich.

C. C. Berg in his 'De Middel-Javaansche Historische Inaditie' (Ph.D. thesis Leiden, Mees, Santpoort 1927) speaks of this Nirartha, drawing mainly on the 'Kidung Pamañcangali' (id., *ibid.*, 1929). Since the Middle-Javanese text has not yet been translated, and as Berg wrote in Dutch, it seems advisable to re-narrate or summarize part of his argumentation.

Nirartha was a Śaiva brahmin from Majapahit who travelled about from one place to another. While in Bali he was credited with several miracles and there he also wrote a considerable number of poems. In this way he became

the spiritual father of the Balinese brahmins. He married the daughters of several of his hosts, to whom he had given a *dikṣā*, who considered this supreme gift as being their *pang-guru-yaga*, 'fee to the *guru* for the consecration and the instruction preceding it'.

From Majapahit he went to the old capital, Daha; from there to Pasuruhan, the more provincial capital; next to Blambangan (the most eastern part of Java), and then, without apparent reason, he crossed to Bali. In the small village of Gading Wani he earned the gratitude of the villagers, who had been struck by a sickness, by curing them. When their headman came to pay his respects to Nirartha and to express his gratitude, the priest gave him a *dikṣā*.

A close relative of this headman, the Pangéran of Mas, in Central Bali, invited the now famous priest to stay with him. Nirartha accepted and was very well received; the relations between the two men became so close that Nirartha gave a *dikṣā* to the Pangéran of Mas as well.

During Nirartha's stay in Mas, he was walking one day on the leaves of the lotuses in a pond (which, it can be presumed, was made in order to provide the flowers needed daily during the worship of the Sun as it is practised in Bali), when he saw the God of the Great mountain, Gunung Agung (which erupted with such damaging effect in 1963), and forthwith sank into the water up to his ankles. Nirartha's comment was: "The God of Bali is very touchy; it is evident that He is Mahādeva who cannot be equalled". Here it should be noted that tradition ascribes these words to Nirartha, the acknowledged forefather of all Balinese Śaiva brahmins.

The fame of the priest reached the King, Vatu Rēnggon, who was a historical figure, and he sent Pangéran Davuh Balé Agung to conduct Nirartha to court immediately. The courtier, before inviting the priest, engaged in a polite conversation with Nirartha, and as both were poets, their conversation lasted for hours. Each felt himself inspired by the other and each composed several poems shortly afterwards. The Lord Davuh Balé Agung was much interested in philosophy and metaphysics, and in the years preceding his meeting with the priest he had set at the feet of one *guru* after another, the holy number of seven in all, receiving their *dikṣā* but still feeling dissatisfied. In this sphere the priest was by far his superior, a fact which the courtier expressed by rescaling himself at a lower level than the priest. It was only after a few days had passed that the two poets went on their way to the court at Gègèl.

In the meantime, the King had become impatient at the non-arrival of his envoy and the priest and had gone to Paḍang Bay for a great fishing party. The catch was a poor one, but on Nirartha's arrival the fish became abundant. Later, on the return journey to the court, he again demonstrated his miraculous power by making it possible for the King and his party to cross a swollen river.

The King, however, was reluctant to ask the priest for his *dikṣā*, but even without his having received it, the mere presence of the great priest contributed to the King's purification, power and glory.

The Lord Davuh Balé Agung, however, took the opportunity to receive a *dikṣā*. Seven times in the past he had been consecrated by the island priests, but not to his satisfaction. Now, the great priest from Majapahit was prepared to be his *guru* and finally to give him his *dikṣā*. As a result of this teaching and consecration, which must have been in the nature of a conversion and to which he devoted a poem, his literary work gained in depth (Nirartha himself felt equally inspired to write many a poem).

A younger version of this story, not in concise metrical form but in prose, and not accessible when Berg wrote his two books mentioned previously, gives more details and continues the story (Babad Sengguhu Asu-Asa, No. 1063 of Gêdong Kirtya, Singaradja, Bali; a considerably shorter version in K 1110, same title, K 278, same title; 506 Kalawasan Pêtak).

According to this story, after returning to the court from the fishing party, the King had a long conversation with the priest, in which the King assured him of his *bhakti*, devotion, *vāhya* as well as *adhyātmika*, exterior as well as interior. He told him that, in sending the Lord Davuh Balé Agung to Nirartha, it had been his intention to follow the *śāśana*, rules of life, for the *kṣatriya*, regulating the relations with the brahmins, and to ask for purification (i.e. to be followed by consecration). But the Lord Davuh had taken his time and had obtained his purification first. This had been a disappointment to him and it was now his intention to invite another brahman from Majapahit. He hoped that Nirartha would not take offence.

Nirartha was agreeable to the proposal, and the King sent for a 'fresh' brahman, Mpu Dang Hyang Kāncana (i.e. gold; *mas* has the same meaning). This priest, however, was unwilling to undertake the long journey to a foreign country, the more so because his 'brother' in Bali might be more competent to perform the ceremony.

The King sent a second envoy to point out that the consecration he was to have received from Nirartha had already been enjoyed by the Lord Davuh. The priest's reply was, that the King must be ignorant of the fact that *dikṣā* is like *Dharma*: it is to be enjoyed, it is eternal, it is indestructible.

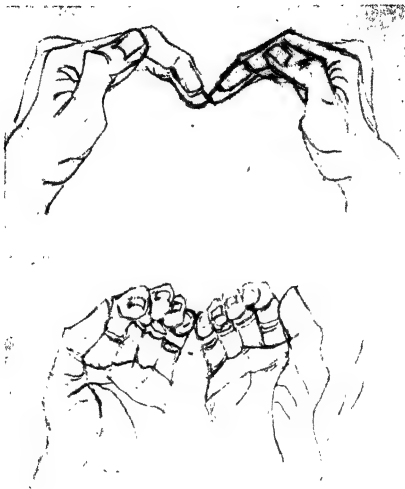
The King, however, did not accept this argument and sent a third envoy, and Dang Hyang Kāncana could no longer refuse the invitation to bestow upon the King the consecration he desired so much.

On an auspicious day the brahman set out for Bali. He did not, however, go straight to Gêlgêl in the South East, but east, to the Great Mountain. The



A Balinese Siva Priest, wearing the ornaments befitting the God, after the Siva soul has descended into his heart (NB His *mudra*, that of *kata-sadhana*, cleansing of the hands, does not belong to this stage of the ritual but to a preparatory one)

Photograph from Tyta de Kleen, 'MUDRAS, The ritual handposes of the Buddha priests and the Siva priests of Bali', London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co Ltd, 1924, by courtesy of the publishers



Two stages of Balinese VYOMA-MUDRĀ
drawing by
I Gusti Ngurah Kētut Sangka Krambitan (Tabanan), Bali

God of the Mountain asked the brahman the purpose of his journey and having learned it, showed him His hand (*s*), from which the brahman saw the Flaming Fivefold Fire, *Pañcāgni*. The brahman, overawed and afraid of arriving late at court (he might have learned something from the envoys), did not answer a final question, asked by the God, whereupon the God became *antarīna* (inherant according to the Monier Williams, but in Bali : he vanished).

Dang Hyang Kāncana then continued his journey to Gèlgèl. Arriving there he purified the King, consecrated him and then returned to Majapahit.

Some points of this narration deserve special attention. First, the *dikṣā* that the Lord Davuh received, preceded by purification, from a priest from overseas, was considered to be of such importance that it was better than all the (seven) indigenous consecrations; it improved the quality of his poetry, and perhaps its quantity. Nothing is said about the King after his consecration, but the remark that the mere presence at court of the holy priest Nirartha contributed to the King's purification, power and glory, perhaps implies that a proper *dikṣā* would have multiplied or intensified these qualities.

The King of Gèlgèl probably did not know about the *dikṣā* that Nirartha had bestowed upon the village headman in the extreme west of his realm, nor of that conferred on the Pangéran of Mas, but he did know about that given to Pangéran Davuh. In speaking of the Lord Davuh's *dikṣā* the King, and his second envoy, reveals how he regarded this event: "Pangéran Davuh has eaten the consecration destined for me". A Balinese King is never allowed to eat anything left over by anyone else, not even anything left over from offerings to the Gods. According to a Balinese folk-tale, anyone daring to offer such food to the King, even someone of priestly status, commits a mortal sin and, with his family, is put to death; this happens even if he is only suspected of this crime. King Vatu Rènggong, however, had the political wisdom to maintain good relations with the Lord Davuh. To the miracle working priest from Java he explained how he felt about the situation, and upon the priest's accepting his suggestion to ask another brahman to come from Java, was able to establish excellent relations with him as well.

On receiving the King's invitation, the second brahman from Majapahit argued that *dikṣā* = *dharma*. But the King persevered, so he gave in and set out on his journey. From this story it seems justifiable to draw the following conclusion that belief in the great importance, personally and for the exercising of their duties, attached to purification followed by a consecration of a king, or a courtier, given by a priest from overseas, is given expression even in a modern writing. The act itself is of so powerful a nature that it can only be performed once by the priest, at least where a King is concerned. Admittedly the writings are modern and the consecration was bestowed upon a King who was already a

Hindu—but up to the second world war the old spirit still predominated in Balinese writings. And so, though these paragraphs are not presented as a proof of Van Leur's hypothesis, with his Western reasoning and theoretical approach, they do furnish support for it, from an Eastern narrative and from the practical side.

One final remark concludes this discussion on the first point. Whether it is the 16th century metrical Kidung Pamañcangah or the modern prose Babad Sengguhu Asu-Asa—the brahman priest from overseas has to acknowledge the superiority of the God of the Great Mountain. Nirartha unexpectedly got his feet wet when he was parading so proudly on the lotus leaves, and in this humiliating way was reminded by the God that it was He who ruled over Bali. Kañcana was clearly better informed and, though eager to fulfill his mission in Gèlgèl, considered it his duty first to make the long detour in order to pay homage to the God of the Great Mountain. This is quite a logical way of thinking. The 'specialist' from overseas, whose help is invoked, must first pay his respects to The Highest Authority, Who, in the case of Nirartha, proved to be stronger than the power residing in Nirartha himself.

B. Since my 'Sūrya-Sevana' is now in course of printing, it is not necessary to repeat here what I have said in it; I should, however, like to draw to the foreground two (out of several) major points of difference between South Indian and Balinese Śaiva daily ritual and to present a theory to account for them.

B'. The first is that, in South India, *amṛtī karana*, the preparation of Holy Water, seems to be of little consequence to priest and layman; the preparatory *Sūrya-pūjā* followed by the final *Śiva-pūjā* being the essence of and the focal-point of the worship. In Bali, on the other hand, there is only the *Sūrya-sevana*, the worship of Śiva-Sūrya or Śiva-Āditya. This is as often called *kārya toya*, preparation of Holy Water, because for the worshipper this is the culmination of his worship and its aim, and it is the only thing that interests the layman.

B". The second point is that during part of the South Indian ritual the God is attended to as though He were an earthly ruler: the *Somaśambhupad-dhati* (III 76b-85a) deals briefly with all the different items: Aghora-Śivācārya's manual, judging from Diehl's pages 118-19 and 122-23, is more elaborate. The God is washed, dried, anointed, adorned with a flower, given food etc. None of this is done in the Balinese daily ritual, but in the Balinese ritual for the spirits of the dead, a similar set of acts is performed.

B'. I am more of a philologist than an anthropologist, and, moreover, during my years in Indonesia I sat in my study and travelled and talked with people perhaps less than I should have done. But nevertheless I do recall that there were a great number of *tīrtha*, holy bathing places in Muslim Java and Lombok, as well as in Hindu Bali. In some of them there were 'century-old'

tortoises or albinocells the presence of which made the water holy. This holy water had the quality of making men wealthy, women fecund and it was a cure for sickness. The ponds of Lingsar in Lombok were visited by Hindu and Muslim, Indo-European and Indo-Chinese. I am inclined to surmise that belief in the supernatural power of water, in these islands, is not only pre-Christian and pre-Muslim but pre-Hindu as well.

Indonesian belief in (sources of) holy water is happily combined with pure Sanskrit terminology. A few years ago I watched a Balinese ruler, suffering from a skin disease, setting out on a pilgrimage to 'Nava-tirtha, the Nine Holy Bathing Places which are sung about in a sub-division of the daily ritual of the Saiva priest. The nine places that he visited were not those of the Sanskrit hymn, which sets them in India, but Balinese holy bathing places, presumably pre-Hindu. The ruler was accompanied and assisted by his court priests who took care of the ritual.

Ḍang Hyang Kāncana returned to Majapahit after he had performed the task for which he had been invited to Bali. Not so Ḍang Hyang Nirartha. He made Bali his permanent abode. He married the daughter of the village headman and also the daughter of the Pangéran of Mas and, according to tradition, fathered the first Balinese Śiva priests. His Balinese wives, and his children as well, reared in Balinese pre-Hindu or at the least pre-Nirartha beliefs and practices, would have felt themselves dependent upon Holy Water. Nirartha knew how to prepare the Holy Water Supreme, *amṛti-karana*, and he believed that this Holy Water was by far superior to any other. Is it not conceivable that, in the course of time, Nirartha's priestly activities evolved in the direction of a form of a worship of which the aim was the preparation of Holy Water?, the worship consisting of homage to Śiva-Sūrya, and the preparation of Holy Water being His act. To-day this is still the idea underlying daily worship; *āgama-tirtha* is the religion of Bali.

I would hesitate to ascribe the present-day form of *Sūrya-sevana=kārya toya* to Nirartha or to his sons or grandsons; it might date from the 17th century, though probably it is much older. What I want to state is the hypothesis that in Bali Hindu religion eventually came to care for the spiritual needs of the Balinese population, the first need perhaps being the keen desire for Holy Water of the highest power. In presenting this hypothesis, I cannot rule out the possibility that a ritual comparable to the Balinese *Sūrya-sevana=Kārya Toya* may be found to exist in South India but until it is found, my argument may be acceptable.

B. Tourism and propaganda have familiarized everybody with the fact that Balinese cremations, either of actual corpses or of symbols representing them, are great occasions, and rightly anthropologists may speak of their

potlatch character. Less well is known the fact that only a small minority of the Balinese are cremated; for example, in the village in which I lived, Gitgit, five miles distant from the then capital, Singaradja, and situated on the great North-South road, nobody could remember that an inhabitant had ever been cremated, neither did one take place during my two-and-a-half years' stay there.

This does not mean that the dead were neglected; far from it. The aristocracy specially were given to huge cremations. The most recent one was held in Gianjer, because the court had to maintain a tradition in the field, but I did not see it. I only know of the propaganda that was produced by the Indonesian Official Tourist Bureau and of the plane loads of Government guests.

Mrs. Katharene Mershon, co-author of Jane Belo's 'Trance in Bali' (preface by Margaret Mead, Columbia University Press, New York, 1960), wrote to me about the final ceremonies called *Bukur* or *Ligya* (*śrāddha*) which she had the privilege of witnessing at the Karangasem court in 1937. In 1908, when the Dutch army occupied his territory, the ruler of Karangasem, then still a young man, had had to organize the final rites for his relatives. The occupation was rather inconvenient for him, for at a certain moment he had had to surrender a close relative, but the ceremonies (taking a week, day and night) were continued. Twenty nine years later he considered it his duty to bestow the same ritual care upon his relative who had, in the meantime, passed away and had been duly cremated. It took him half a year of preparation and cost him a fortune, notwithstanding all the gifts and help that whole villages contributed to their feudal lord, but once the whole series of ceremonies was completed, he felt proud of his achievement and relieved from his task on earth.

It is known that the Dayak of Kalimantan (Borneo) hold huge ceremonies-for-the-dead, which they call *tivah*, just as in Bali, and I should like to see a comparison made between the two. I hope that the preceding paragraphs may be sufficient to bring to mind the prominence in Bali of the cult of the dead, a cult to which the Government sponsored 'Bali, Cults and Customs' out of its five chapters, devoted Chapter IVb.

Two contemporary monographs have been devoted to the cult of the dead in Bali, but the preparations and the rites take so much time and are so complicated and, moreover, are different for the four castes, that only a team of field workers and a multi-volume work of their research could cope with the whole thing. Here I only intend to print a brahman priest's recitation—that of the Saiva priests is the same as that of the Bauddha—lasting a minute or two; it reads as follows (no endeavour has been made to correct the Sanskrit):

Toyantu pitaro deva, toyantu ca pitamaha,
toyantu piapitamaha, sagana saparivara (*duk avèh toya*).

Water, be offered to the deified fathers,
 Water, be offered to the grandfathers as well,
 Water, be offered to the great-grandfathers,
 With their attendants and retinue (when water is offered).

This formula is then repeated, but with *lépana* (ointment); then with *puṣpa* (flowers), then with *tiṣṭhantu* (sic), when the wish is expressed that these categories of beings should be seated; then with *jaghrantu* that their attendants should pay attention; with *tigantu*, that they should enjoy a betel quid (the quid consists of three, *tiga*, ingredients); with *bhujantu*, that they should enjoy their food; then with *tṛppyantū*, that they may be satisfied; and finally, with *kṣumantu*, that they may be forbearing.

This act is found in the MSS. called *Śava-vidhāna*, Disposition of Corpses (K 464 & 1168), *Putr-pūjā*, Worship of the Forefathers (K 36) and *Pūjā Pitṛ* (K 69), *Pūjā Narpana Śava* (from *tarpana*), Worship to satisfy the spirits of the dead (K 2178, *Bauddha*) and (*Ma*)*Līgya* (K 71; name of the final ceremony; the word is probably derived from Tamil *maligai*, palace, meant to be a turret, the focal point of this huge ceremony).

This set of formulas, which are almost synonymous and are closely related, is also easily recognized in Lévi's 'Sanskrit Texts from Bali', p. 85 lines 3-12: the same set is given on p. 83 line 21. A few lines earlier, 15-18, the reading is as follows.

om om Pitṛbhyāś ca Mātṛbhyāś ca namaḥ svāhā;.. ...
 om om Pitāmahebhyaḥ svāhā, om Mātāmahebhyaḥ svāhā;
 om om Prapitāmahebhyaḥ svāhā, om Pramātāmahebhyaḥ svāhā.

om homage be to the (manes of the) fathers and the mothers,
 om homage be to the (manes of the) grandfathers and the grandmothers;
 om homage be to the (manes of the) great-grandfathers & the great-grandmothers.

The BUDDHA VEDA printed on pp. 73-85 is not 'the Buddhist counterpart of the Brahmanical Veda (what is meant is: *Śaiva Veda-parikrama* or *Sūrya-sevana*; C. II.; Lévi goes on: it contains the complete daily worship of the Buddhist priest' (p. XXIX bottom), it is in fact the beginning of the worship of the dead and ends abruptly. Lévi must have misunderstood his informants and obviously he himself could not make sense out of this ritual, which he printed without any rubric (cf. K 2255, Codex Or. Leiden 4165, *Buddha Veda*).

It will be clear that in Bali, that part of the South Indian Śaiva ritual dealing with the 'personal care' of the God, as if He were an earthly ruler, is performed for the spirits of the dead and is used exclusively in the death rites. My only explanation is, that the pre-Hindu Gods of the Balinese, for whose worship the Balinese were desirous primarily of performing an adequate ritual, were in

fact the spirits of the dead. Nirartha and his sons, corporeal and spiritual, knew about ritual and worship ; and they, moreover, were masters of a language used by priests but unknown to the layman, but their Balinese sons and grandsons, in using this part of South Indian daily worship, transferred it to a complex and elaborate death ritual. The framework of this ritual was pre-Hindu, the formulas, in part, being elaborated in Hindu times. Lévi's presentation of Buddha Veda ends abruptly, perhaps not accidentally, where the formulas became too predominantly Indonesian ; his book did deal with *sanskrit* Texts from Bali.

Some support for this hypothesis might be found in the fact that the *puñu* (awakening) part of the *Sūrya-sevanā* (my G') appears to have been borrowed from the death ritual, where it rightly belongs.

Finally, this seems the place to refer to the remarks made earlier: that, mighty though the God of Nirartha and of Kāñcana may be, Bali is ruled over by the God of the Great Mountain. Is the evidence on which such an interpretation is based too slender for it to be out of the question to say: " Verily, he is without peer " ?

I have chosen to go into some aspects of Balinese ritual because of the publication of Lévi's book by the Baroda Oriental Institute, to which my lamented friend Bhatt devoted his *bhakti* for so many years.

MAHIMNASTAVA

By

V. S. AGRAWALA, Varanasi

The *Mahimnastava* is one of the foremost *Stotras* in Sanskrit literature. It is committed to memory by many a devotee of Śiva with the object of daily recitation. Recently Dr. Norman Brown has brought out a sumptuous edition with an introduction, critical text, English translation and thirty-nine illustrations taken from the manuscript preserved in the Baroda Museum, Baroda. This excellent edition in the best *format* gives a new status to this Stotra and compels renewed scrutiny about its age, authorship and contents. In our own study, we have come across several points which we are noting here.

Authorship:

The reputed author of the *Mahimnastava* is Puṣpadanta. The learned editor treats him to be a superhuman character and writes that on the basis of the known material he is unable to decide who this Puṣpadanta was. As usual the commentators have confused his human identity. The following three legends are cited about him which make facts more hazy:—

“There is a legend attached to the authorship of this Stava, which is reported in some of the commentaries. A certain heavenly attendant upon Śiva named Puṣpadanta, the tale goes, composed it to regain the favour of the God, which he had inadvertently lost. The story does not say anything further about the identity of this Puṣpadanta, but possibly it would have to identify him with Puṣpadanta, also a heavenly attendant upon Śiva, who appears in the frame story of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. The latter had surreptitiously listened to Śiva secretly reciting the Great Tale to Pārvatī, had told it to his wife, who relayed it back to Pārvatī, thereby arousing the goddess's blazing anger, first against Śiva, for telling her, as she thought, an old and well-known story when he professed to be telling one entirely new; secondly against Puṣpadanta when she discovered his eavesdropping, and finally, against a companion who interceded for him. Puṣpadanta was cursed to fall from heaven and be born as a mortal, with the proviso that he would be restored to heaven when he related the tale to a certain other denizen of heaven who had also been cursed to be born on earth. In his human existence, the tale says, Puṣpadanta was the grammarian Vararuci-Kātyāyana, minister of King Nanda, who ruled in the 4th century B.C. Vararuci-Kātyāyana was, according to *Kathāsaritsāgara*, a contemporary of the grammarian Śārvavarman, composer of *Kātantra*, a brilliant linguist and deviser of a teaching method by which he shortened the time necessary for

King Śātavāhana to learn Sanskrit from a minimum of six years to a mere six months, thus setting a standard for our modern linguists to work up to."

"The Puṣpadanta associated with the *Mahimnastava*, whether the one who figures in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* or another, also got into trouble through his devotion to Śiva, according to the legend. He was chief musician (*gandharva*) of the gods, and used to make a flower offering every day to Śiva. He got the flowers by flying invisibly through the air to a certain king's garden every night and plucking them. The flowers were missed, but no one could catch or even see the thief. At last the gardeners hit upon a plan. They scattered flowers around which had been offered to Śiva in worship so that the thief would tread upon them. The unlucky Puṣpadanta, suspecting nothing, actually trod upon them, in this way showing disrespect to Śiva, though unwittingly, and in consequence lost his status as *gandharva* and at the same time his power to travel through the air and to remain invisible. Thus he was caught. It was only when he had composed this hymn of praise to Śiva that he regained his heavenly condition and was restored to Śiva's court."

"How old this legend is I cannot say. The manuscripts regularly ascribe the *Stava* to Puṣpadanta and some of them call him a *gandharva*, but our oldest version of the text, an inscription which will be mentioned below, does not allude to him. The ascription does not, of course, settle the point about the authorship. Even if we leave aside any question of superhuman character of Puṣpadanta, we know no poet Puṣpadanta elsewhere in Hindu Sanskrit literature, though one may have existed. It is possible, that the real author, whoever he was, may have put the poem in the mouth of the 'gandharva Puṣpadanta', Śiva's attendant, either to 'document' it and give it verisimilitude or merely because he thought Puṣpadanta an appropriate literary character for composing and reciting it. Another possibility is that some one of the various Vararuci known in Sanskrit literature was the author and the ascription to Puṣpadanta came from the latter's legendary association with Vararuci-Kātyāyana. Such speculations, lacking any support, are not worth much consideration. Besides being attributed to Puṣpadanta, the work is also occasionally ascribed in manuscripts to a human author Grahīla or Kumārilabhaṭṭa (the latter on the authority of a commentary by a Decāmātya),¹ possibly meaning the philosopher Kumāriḷa, who lived about the beginning of the 8th century.² The ques-

¹ See D. C. Bhattacharya, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 46, 1917, p. 164, referring to the 'Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Oriental Library, Mysore, No. 11120. See also in the Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, Vol. 2, pt. 2, No. 7118. See also in Madras Catalogue of manuscripts, Vol. 19, Nos. 7517-7521, "where further details of the author, son of Annayāmātya, are given" (statement in India Office Catalogue).

² See A. B. Keith, *History of Sans. Litt.*, p. 374.

tion of authorship unfortunately is not answerable on the basis of materials known to me,"

There is no historical substance in these legends or concocted stories but there is some evidence by which it is possible to make Puṣpadanta a human author. The epithet *gandharva* is not to be assigned to a mythical race of super-human beings or celestial musicians but it was the general title applied to the people of Gandhāra during the Gupta period. The best evidence is that of Kālidāsa that the people living on the eastern and western banks of the Indus with their capitals as Takṣaśilā and Puṣkalāvati respectively were known as *gandharvas*, an unmistakable synonym of Gandhāra. It appears that the birth place of Puṣpadanta was somewhere in Gandhāra; the application of the title *gandharva* after his name points to the implication that he had made his home outside the country of his birth and this new place could only be Kashmere which was the centre of Sanskrit learning from Gupta period onwards as shown by the discovery of the Sanskrit Tripiṭaka in the Leh-Ladakh region. It is a common practice that when a person born in a different province comes to settle down in a different place outside his own state he becomes known to the local people after the name of his previous birth place. On that model the epithets Bengali, Madrasi and Marwari are added to personal names even today and thus Puṣpadanta *gandharva* denoted that Puṣpadanta migrated from the *gandharva* country, that is Gandhāra. (Kālidāsa *Raghavarṇa*, 15, 88-9).

The identity of *gandharva* with Gandhāra is also implied in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* where Bharata is said to have been sent on a military expedition to the country of the *gandharvas* and thereafter his conquest founded the two capitals of Takṣaśilā and Puṣkalāvati (Viṣṇudh. Purāṇa, p. 125, 1-204-10). Here also the name *gandharva* was the geographical appellation of the Gandhāra country.

In the *Ahīrbudhnya Samhitā* (42.44) there is mention of a king of Saurāṣṭra named Śrutakīrti having marched to conquer the *gandharva* country. At first he was foiled in his attempt but later on he worshipped Lord Viṣṇu standing within the circle of a Great Wheel (*Mahācakra*) with 64 spokes and two felines (*chaturṣhasṭhyāra-samyute nemidvayānvite devaṃ madhye*, Ah. B. 42.67). This description surprisingly agrees with the *Cakra Vikrama* type of coin issued by Candragupta Vikramāditya excepting that the 62 extra hands of Viṣṇu have not been shown due to want of space and the aesthetic judgment of the designer. On one side of the same we have one big wheel with 64 spokes and 2 felines within which stands god Viṣṇu. This coin or commemorative medal of which only one specimen has been found upto now in the Bayana hoard answers to this description and seems to have been issued by Candragupta Vikramāditya after his march against the Bāhlika country as stated in the

Mehroli inscription when he became victorious over the Gandhāra country also. He had then become the emperor of the Saurāṣṭra region also. In all probability the Śrutakīrti story seems to refer in a veiled manner to that historical event and mentions the people of Gandhāra as the gandharvas. Whatever we may think of this last reference there is hardly any doubt on the basis of the reference in the *Raghuvamśa* that in the time of Kālidāsa Gandhāra was known as the country of the gandharvas, and this is the epithet that was reasonably applied to Puṣpadanta who was a native of Gandhāra.

There is one more probable reason showing that the *Mahimnastava* was composed in Kashmere. It is there that the *Mahimnastava* is memorised by men, women and children from early boyhood and recited throughout life as a religious duty, a practice observed only in Kashmere and nowhere else in North India or in Bengal or in the South. Its composition by an author of Gandhāra settled in Kashmere is therefore very probable.

About the date of the composition of the *Mahimnastava*, Dr. Norman Brown writes:

"Just as the authorship of the *Mahimnastotra* is unascertainable by me, so too is the date. The earliest known text is a stone inscription at the Amareśvara temple at Māndhātā in the district of Nīmāḍ on the northern bank of the Narmadā river. This is dated, but unfortunately the second digit of the date is damaged and the year may be either Samvat 1120 or 1220. The complete date works out to either November 21, 1063 A.D. or October 27, 1163 A.D. (See N. P. Chakravarti, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 25, part 4, October, 1939, pp. 183-185. This inscription is reproduced and discussed by Gaurishankar Ojha in '*Kaḥāṇa*', *bhāga* 8, *aṅka* 1, Gītā Press, Gorakhpur, Śrāvana, 1990 (August 1933), pp. 467-471). This date for the existence of the *Mahimnastava* is possibly pushed back by the fact that stanza 18 (*rathah kṣhonī*, etc.), appears in Somadeva's *Yaśas-tīlaka* (Kūvyamālā edition, part II, p. 55) written in A.D. 959 (see D. C. Bhattacharya, loc. cit.), where the author of the stanza is said to be a certain Grahila, while stanza 5 (*kumihah kumāvah*, etc.) is quoted in Rājasekhara's *Kūvyamīmāṃsā* 8-16, datable according to Stichoupak and Renoue at the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century.¹ Possibly a still earlier date is justified, since

¹ See N. Stichoupak and L. Renoue, *la Kūvyamīmāṃsā de Rājasekhara*, Paris, 1946, pp. 4, 119 Cf. C. D. Dalal and R. Anantakrishna Sastry, *Kūvyamīmāṃsā of Rājasekhara*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. 1, 191, 1916, p. 37 Prof. V. Raghavan has also kindly supplied me with the information that the same stanza is found in Narayanakantha's commentary on the *Mṛgendrāgama* (Kashmere Text Series 50, p. 30) where the 'author of the verse is given as Siddhacūḍāmaṇi but this is only descriptive epithet of the author as the foremost among the Siddhās. Narayanakantha is later than Utpaladeva (900-950), guru's guru of Abhinavagupta, and earlier than Aghoraśiva (middle of the 12th century) and may be assigned to c. 1075-1100'.

the work is quoted in Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's *Nyāyamañjarī*, belonging to the 9th century.² I have not been able to see the latter work and identify the quotation."

Dr. Norman Brown is to be accredited with the ransacking of Sanskrit texts for quotations of the *Mahimnastava* stanzas which takes the date to about the 9th century. But we have several other reasons to believe that the date of the *Mahimnastava* goes back several centuries earlier and may be placed somewhere in the best period of the Gupta literary epoch, most probably 5th century A.D.

The first reason is that its style is that of a *Dvātrīṃśikā* composition, that is, a small *Kāvya* of 32 stanzas. This literary form was evolved in the early Gupta period as is well-known by the '2 *Dvātrīṃśikās* of Siddhasena Divākara who was a court-poet of Candragupta Vikramāditya and lived about 400 A.D. He is reputed to have composed 1024 verses and divided them into 32 *Dvātrīṃśikā* compositions, 22 of which have come down to our own day and are devoted to different topics. Dr. Norman Brown accepts that the first 31 stanzas formed part of the original poem but doubts about the genuineness of the 32nd one, although all the three stanzas, namely, Nos. 30, 31, and 32 are omitted in the version inscribed on the walls of the Amareśvara temple. We think that if verses 30 and 31 can be accepted as genuine there is no reason why stanza 32 be also not accepted as original, specially on the basis of the *Dvātrīṃśikā* style of the poem.

The second argument which is almost decisive is the mention of five great philosophical and religious schools which formed part of the intellectual ferment during the Gupta Age. In verse 7 these are named as Trayī, Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāsupata and Vaiṣṇava, that is, Pāñcarātra. These were together known as *Kṛtāntāpañcakam* and a clear reference to them is found in several Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata as follows —

*Sāṃkhyam yogam pāsupatam vedā yu pañcarāśṛkam /
kṛtānta-pañcakam hyetad gāyatrī ca śivā tathā ||*

Agni Purāṇa, 219/61

*Evamekañ sāṃkhyayogañ vedāranyakamva ca /
Parasparāṅgyaṅānyetāni pañcarātraṇi ca kathyate ||*

Mahābhārata, Śānti P. 336/76

*Sāṃkhyam yogam pañcharātram vedāḥ pāsupatam tathā /
Jñānānyetāni rājarṣe viddhi nānāmātāni va ||*

Mahābhārata, Śānti P. 337-56

*Sāṃkhyayogah pañcharātram vedāḥ pāsupatam tathā /
Kṛtānta-pañcakam hyetacchāstrāni vividhāni ca ||*

Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 2/22/133

² A. B. Keith, op. cit. pp. 135-221, published in the Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series, Vol. 8, No. 10, 1895.

Trayī was the name given to the Vedic doctrine which was also known as *Vedāranyaka*, *Upaniṣad* and *Vedānta*. By mutual understanding the other four schools accepted the authority of the Vedic tradition and incorporated in their teachings the principles of Vedic philosophy. The *Sāṃkhya* in this list was the re-organised school of philosophy with theism as its core, that is, a belief in the existence of *Īśvara* and as such was given the title *Pañcavimśaka*. The *Yoga* doctrine was of a practical nature and was acceptable to others as indispensable for the purpose of religious discipline or *Sādhana*. Both the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas incorporated the teachings of *Aṣṭāṅga Yoga* as part of the practical side of their religion.

The *Pāśupata* school of the Śaivas and the *Pañcarātra* school of the Vaiṣṇavas were two most important religious denominations that held the field during the Gupta epoch. They created a vast body of literature and almost a country-wide organisation which drew within its fold not only the people but also kings and emperors. As such these five great schools mentioned by Puṣpadanta reflect a feature of a particular epoch in which they were flourishing together. This reference to them is deliberate and not a haphazard reckoning. With this background in view the chronological question is put in its proper perspective and we may link it with the other references to *Kṛtāntapañcaka* in the Purāṇas and the epic. On this firm basis, the composition of the *Mahimnastava* has been taken back to the Gupta epoch when these Āgamas or Prasthānas were evolved with their pointed differences and also similarities, and a covenant to work together as a team to meet the forces of Buddhism.

I communicated this point of view and others that follow to Dr. Norman Brown and with rare candidness he wrote to me in his letter dated August 1, 1965:—

“I should also add that I think your idea of Gupta-period authorship of the *Mahimnastava* very interesting indeed especially since you have referred to so many literary items paralleling points appearing in the text.”

The additional material which supports the chronological consideration set forth above is rooted in art and sculpture on the basis of which Puṣpadanta organised his *Stotra* in the form of certain exploits of Śiva (*Śiva-Līlā*) which were given their first plastic representation in Gupta times.

In verse ten there is the theme of the *Jyotirlinga* form of Śiva, that is a Great Pillar of Light which is measureless. It is known to us in the form of millions of suns in one axial alignment form which untold universes have come into existence. Brahma desired to bring it within the measure of computation but he did not succeed in reaching to the top of the *Jyotirlinga*. Thus spoiled in his attempt he wanted to cover it up by telling a lie that he had reached the upper end and was ultimately given a curse and excluded from worship. The

other god was Viṣṇu who intuitively realised the greatness of *Jyotirliṅga* as being beyond all measure and making a circumambulation of the Pillar of Light declared his conviction that no one could ever get to the end of that which was endless. Brahma represents that approach of the intellect and Viṣṇu that of the heart. This aspect of the *Jyotirliṅga* of Śiva was represented in art of which a sculpture is preserved in the Bharat Kala Bhavan of the Banaras Hindu University and which should be assigned to the late Gupta period.

In verses eleven and twelve is the theme of Rāvaṇa worshipping Śiva by offering his head and then inflated with pride of strength lifting Kailāsa on the forest of his arms but getting the worse by Śiva by crushing him with the pressure of his great toe. This topic of Rāvaṇa lifting Kailāsa is also mentioned by Kālidāsa in the *Meghadūta*:

gatvā cordhvarā daśamukhabhujocchvāsita-prasthusandheḥ |
Kailāsasya tridaśavarmā darpaṇasyātūthiḥ syāh || 1.58

This subject is carved on a sculpture found in the Mathura school which on the basis of its animated style and vividness of depiction has been assigned to the early Gupta period. It is carved in the typical red sandstone of Mathura and is faithful representation of Kailāsa shaken by this great upheaval and still retaining its balance by the counter force exercised by Śiva. The sculpture may be assigned to the last quarter of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century. This very subject is treated again at Elephanta and Ellora but they are later in date by a few centuries and assignable to the middle of the eighth century.

There is no doubt that in the time of Kālidāsa (c. 4th century) the subject was included in the list of Śiva's exploits and Puṣpadanta also welcomed it in the *Mahimnastava* composed by him according to a rational and well-thought out plan. (Mathura Museum, *Kailāsottolana*, No 2577).

In verse fourteen there is reference to the drinking of poison by Śiva which subject has been rarely depicted in sculpture. But there is a carved slab of *Samudra Manthana* by the Asuras and Devas, which is in Gupta style and now preserved in the Museum at Gurukula Kangri (see my 'Studies in Indian Art', pp. 267-8).

In verse fifteen is mentioned the *Madana duhana līlā* of Śiva which is the theme of *Kumārasambhava*. Its representation in Brahmanical sculpture has not yet been discovered but there are many scenes of *Māradharṣaṇa* found in the Buddhist art of the Gupta period which was an identical version of the *Kāmāntaka līlā* of Śiva.

In verse sixteen there is a graphic description of Śiva as Naṭarāja performing his *Tāṇḍava* dance. It was a very favourite subject for the artists and a very powerful image was recently found from the Uchchahers Śiva temple which is in the true early Gupta style, when this theme was for the first time carved in stone.

This sculpture is now in the collection of Mrs. Pupul Jayker, New Delhi and I published it in my paper entitled: "A survey of the Gupta Art and some sculptures from Nachna Kuthara and Khoh", *Lalita Kala* no 9, Plate VIII, fig. 5 April 1961. Kālidāsa also has referred to Śiva's dance in the *Meghadūta*. (I. 36)

In verse seventeen is the subject of the descent of Gaṅgā from heaven on the matted locks of Śiva. This theme is represented on a beautiful Śiva Liṅga in the collection of Mrs. Jayaker and published by me in the same paper. The image is in the best Gupta style.

In verse nineteen is a reference to the *Cakravapū* or the *Cakrapuruṣa* form of Viṣṇu which was an important religious doctrine of the pañcarātra Bhāgavatas which is dealt with in a most elaborate manner in the *Ahīrbudhīnaya Saṁhitā* revealed by Śiva to Nārada. The *Cakrapuruṣa* form of Viṣṇu is represented on the *Cakravikrama* type of gold coin issued by Chandragupta Vikramāditya, most probably after his conquest over the Bāhlikā country. This indicates the chronological position of the legend of Viṣṇu assuming the form of Cakra. The story in itself is a masterpiece of the synthesis between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism that was the hall mark of the religious philosophy during the Gupta age as shown in the writings of Kālidāsa and several Purāṇas

In verse 21 is the mention of the destruction of the sacrifice of Dakṣa by Śiva in his Bhairava form (*Dakṣa Yajña Vidhvamsa*). Fortunately this theme has been illustrated on a couple of big terracotta plaques which were once fitted in the frieze of the middle terrace of the Śiva temple discovered at Ahicchatrā and which is assignable to the Gupta epoch. The plaques were published in my paper on 'Ahicchatrā Clay Figurines' as No 4 of *Ancient India* (Plate LXI).

In verse 23 there is reference to the Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva which also began to be represented in the Gupta sculpture, as found in several images of the Mathura school.

In verse 26 is a clear statement of the *Aṣṭamūrti* form of Śiva which was an important plank of the Pāśupata doctrine as inculcated in the Liṅga Purāṇa. It was a very popular belief in the Gupta period as shown by Kālidāsa invoking the *Aṣṭamūrti* form in the beginning of his two dramas, *Mālavikāgnimitra* and *Abhijñānaśākuntala*. I have given an interpretation of the *Aṣṭamūrti* form of Śiva in my paper: on '*Aṣṭamūrti Śiva*' published in the book entitled: 'Sparks from the Vedic Fire' (pp. 117-122). Kālidāsa was very fond of this doctrine having referred to in *Raghuvamśa* (5.4 and 2.35). Bāna also refers to it in the *Harṣacarita*, saying that it was symbolised by the *Aṣṭapuspikā* form of Śaiva darśana. The eight forms of Śiva comprised the five gross elements of matter, the twofold energy of Prāṇa and Apāna and the Mind as making the eight principles of manifestation (*pratyakṣamūrti*). No Gupta image has yet

been traced showing these eight forms but a big sculpture of about the 8th century was found at Parel near Bombay in which seven images of Śiva are conjointly shown and that appears to be the interpretation of the sculptor who fashioned that form and chose to omit the eighth or the invisible mind.

In verse 28th there is again a mention of the *Aṣṭamūrti* form as rooted in the Vedic tradition found in the *Yajurveda* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (6.1.3. 18).

In verse 29 is a *Namaḥ Stotra* of Śiva composed in summary form after the model of the Śātarudriya book XVI of the *Yajurveda* which inspired many other beautiful Stotras in the Purānas and the Bhāgavata.

Puṣpadanta was a great master. The excellence of his poetic art is self-evident which creates a lasting impression on the mind. In the *Mahimnastava* he put up a window to admit the best that was then known about the exploits and iconography of Śiva. He must have taken great pains in organising the motifs of this Stotra. He was well-versed in the tenets of classical philosophy and religious doctrines and he has selected such of them as have ennobled the Stotra to a high degree of perfection. In verse 9 he refers to two schools of philosophy, namely those that advocated that the world is permanent as the adherents of Veda, Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pāśupata and Pañcharātra schools. On the other hand there were schools of philosophy that preached the impermanence of the world and these appear to be the advocates of Yogācāra school or the Viṣṇūnavāda philosophers of Buddhism. These were the two major divisions of metaphysical thinkers that flourished in Gupta time and Puṣpadanta is faithful in drawing a picture of the religion and philosophy of his age.

In verse 18 he mentions the mountain chariot of Śiva which he furnished in his fight against Tripura. It is the cosmos as the chariot in which Brahmā is the charioteer, Sumeru the bow the sun and moon are the two wheels and Viṣṇu is the arrow. The idea of such cosmic divine chariots was a favourite theme in the Purānas and four of them are mentioned, namely the one for Sūrya, (*Matsya Purāṇa*), the other for Śiva (*Liṅga Purāṇa*) and the third for Kārttikeya (*Matsya Purāṇa*) and the fourth for Devī (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*).

THE ŚIVASŪTRAS AND MUSIC

By

A. N. JANI, Baroda

It has been the general tendency of the Indian orthodox mind to trace the origin of any branch of learning to some divinity especially to the Lord Śiva. Thus the tantras are mostly attributed to Śiva, who is described there as revealing their secrets to his consort Pārvatī. According to tradition the Vaiśeṣika philosophy was revealed to the sage Kanāda by the Lord Śiva in the form of an owl (*Ulūka*) hence known as the *Aulūkyā-darśana*. Another tradition recorded by the Kāśikākāra attributes the fourteen *sūtras* giving the Sanskrit alphabet and adopted by Pāṇini to get abbreviated formulas therefrom to employ them in his grammar, to Śiva. The Kāśikākāra says—"At the end of His dance, the Lord of dancers produced from his *ḍamaru* (a small drum) the sanskrit sounds in the form of fourteen *sūtras*, with a view to uplifting the sages like Sanaka etc."¹

These *sūtras* are therefore known as the *Śivasūtras* or the *Māheśvarasūtras* (coming from the Maheśvara—The Great Lord).

These *sūtras* form the foundation of the system of Pāṇinian grammar. Similarly they are also pressed into service in the works on the *tantra-śāstra*.

Recently I came across a small MS. called *Śrīrudraḍamarūdbhavasūtravivaraṇam*, in the possession of the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner. The author whose name and place etc. are not given therein, tries to correlate seven fundamental musical notes (*svaras*) of the Indian classical music to some of these *Śivasūtras*.

Description of the MS.

Name: *Śrīrudraḍamarūdbhavasūtravivaraṇam*.

Owner: Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner.²

No.: 3443, S. No. 101.

Author: Anonymous.

Material: Paper.

Script: Devanāgarī.

¹ नृणावसाने नटराजराजो ननाद ङ्कां नवपञ्चवारम् ।

उद्धर्तुकामः सनकादिसिद्धान्तद्विमेर्ये शिवस्तज्जालम् ॥ (p. 4, बालमनोरमा)

cf. also. येनाक्षरसमाम्नायमधिगम्य महेश्वराद् ।

कृत्स्नं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥ (p. 388, सिद्धान्तकौमुदी)

² I thank H. H. The Maharaja Saheb of Bikaner for granting me permission to use the MS and publish the contents thereof.

Folios: 8 (right margin of folio 1 is torn).

Size: 6" x 3.5".

No. of Stanzas: 46.

Lines per page: 6-7.

Letters per line: 19-20.

Remarks: The MS is written in bold and legible letters.

Contents³

The MS originally deals with music and begins with the word—" *Atha gāndharvam* ". After describing the types of the songsters, their merits and drawbacks, the author mentions 6 types of the *sūtras*, of which Rudra or Māheśvara is one. The author says that the *Raudrasūtra* has been adopted by the sages like Pāṇini and his followers.⁴ The first *sūtra* has 3 letters (*a*, *i*, *u*). The second two (*r*, *l*). The third two (*e*, *o*) and the fourth also two (*ai*, *au*). Thus the four *sūtras* give in all 9 svaras (vowels).⁵ The author in order to identify the *svaras* (musical notes) of the music with the *svaras* (vowels) of the *Sivasūtras* now proclaims that really speaking the *sūtras* give 7 *svaras* only, the *r* and *l* being non-entity.⁶ Thus according to him the second *sūtra* is purposeless—of course as far as the musical *svaras* are concerned.⁷ From the point of view of the *mātrās* the first *sūtra* is called a *laghu-sūtra*, the third one a *gurusūtra* and the fourth one a *plutasūtra*. After this he identifies both types of *svaras*, gives their classification as *udātta*, *anudātta*, and *svarita* and mentions their location on the *śruti* scale.⁹ This may be given in the tabular form as under:—

³ Detailed contents and the full text will follow in a subsequent article.

⁴ रौद्रमन्त्रगीकृतं तेषु पाणिनीयमुनीश्वरैः ॥ २१^{११} ॥

⁵ त्र्यक्षरं प्रथमं सूत्रं द्वितीयं द्व्यक्षरं मतम् ॥ २१ ॥

तृतीयं द्व्यक्षरं प्रोक्तं चतुर्थं द्व्यक्षरं स्मृतम् ।

चत्वारः (रि) स्वरसूत्राणि स्वरास्तैस्तु नव स्मृताः ॥ २२ ॥

⁶ सप्तैव ते स्वराः प्रोक्तास्तेषु ऋतुनपुंसका ॥ २३^{ab} ॥

⁷ त्रिसूत्रैस्ते स्वराः प्रोक्ता द्वितीयं तु निरर्थकम् ।

⁸ लघुसूत्रं तु प्रथमं गुरुसूत्रं तृतीयकम् ॥ २४ ॥

चतुर्थं प्लुतसूत्रं स्यात्

⁹ अङ्गुलं सविगाः स्मृताः ।

एओङ् मपौ, धनी ऐऔच्, द्वेधा सप्तस्वराः मताः ॥

उदात्ते (तौ) निषादगान्धारावनुदात्ते (तौ) रिधौ स्मृतौ ॥ २५ ॥

स्वरितप्रभवा ह्येते षड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः ॥ २७ ॥

एवं ते त्रिविधाः प्रोक्ताः वे[द]शास्त्रविशारदैः ।

चतुःसप्तकविधिसप्तदशविंशतिर्द्वाविंशतीतिसप्तस्थानसंस्थिताः शुद्धाः ॥

Sivasūtra order	Music order	pitch	Place on <i>śruti</i> scale.
अ	स	स्वरित	4
इ	रि	अनुदात्त	7
उ	ग	उदात्त	9
ए	भ	स्वरित	13
ओ	प	स्वरित	17
ऐ	ध	अनुदात्त	20
औ	नि	उदात्त	22

After giving the *mūrcchanās* the author proceeds with the treatment of the *tāla*, where also he tries to correlate the *tālamātrās* (smallest unit of *tāla*) to the *Sivasūtras* referred to above. Thus he says the first *śūtra* contains 3 *mātrās*, the third one two *gurunātrās* and the fourth one two *plutanātrās*. Hence they can be called *laghutraya*, *gurudvandva* and *Plutadvandva*. Thus every *sūtra* contains *tāla*.¹⁰ The third *sūtra* forms the third form of the *prastāra* of four *mātrās*. The fourth one the first form of the *prastāra* of the six *mātrās* and the first two *sūtras* form thirty-sixth form of the *prastāra* of the five *mātrās*.¹¹

This is followed by the enumeration and explanation of the ten *prāṇas* (essentials) of the *tālas* and the MS comes to an abrupt ending.

Thus the author tries to correlate here the *svaras* of music with the *svaras* of the *Sivasūtras* and tries to raise the dignity of music by such identification.

¹⁰ मात्रात्रयात्मकं सूत्रं प्रथमं सार्धमात्रिकम् ॥ ३६ ॥

तृतीयं गुरुयुग्मेन चतुर्थं प्लुतयुग्मतः ।

लघुत्रयं गुरुद्वन्द्वं प्लुतद्वन्द्वं स्वरे भवेत् ॥ ३७ ॥

तालात्मकं जगत्सर्वं तालसु व्यापकः स्मृतः ।

¹¹ तृतीयं सूत्रं चतुर्मात्रिकप्रस्तारे तृतीयं रूपम् ।

चतुर्थं सूत्रं षण्मात्रिकप्रस्तारे प्रथमम् ॥ ४० ॥

प्रथमसूत्रद्वयं पञ्चमात्रिकप्रस्तारे षड्विंशतितमम् ॥

PĀLĀGALĪ

By

M. A. MEHENDALE, Poona

*Pālāgalī*¹ occurs only at a few places in the ritual literature. It is the name of the fourth, and in rank supposed to be the lowest, wife of a king. The other three wives of a king, in order, are *mahiṣi*, *vāvātā*, and *parivṛktā*. These are mentioned in the description of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. cf. *catasro jdyā upakṛtā bhavanti* / *mahiṣi vāvātā parivṛktā pālāgalī* / *sarvā niṣkiṇyo 'laṁkṛtā mithunasyaiva sarvatvāya* / *tābhiḥ sahāgnyagāram prapadyate pūrvayā dvārā yajamāno dakṣiṇayā patnyah* / Śat. Br. 13.4.1.8.² "Four (of the king's) wives are in attendance—the consecrated queen, the favourite wife, a discarded wife, and the *Pālāgalī*, all of them adorned and wearing gold ornaments (neck-plates) —with the view of the completeness of conjugal union. With them he enters the hall of the sacrificial fires—the Sacrificer by the eastern, the wives by the southern, door" (Eggeling, Tr. Śat. Br. Part V, p. 349). The status and the function of *pālāgalī* has been clarified by Eggeling on the Śat. Br. 13.2.6.7 (Part V. p. 313, f.n.2) where he observes, "The fourth and lowest wife of the King the *Pālāgalī*, though present at the sacrifice, does not take part in this ceremony, probably on account of her low-caste origin, as the daughter of a messenger, or courier".

The meaning 'daughter of a messenger, (*dūtāputrī*) has been assigned to *pālāgalī* in a commentary called the *Saṁkṣiptasāra* on the *Kāty. Śr. S.* 20.1.12. It is obviously based on *pālāgala* which means a messenger (*dūta*). This word occurs in the description of a rite called *ratninām havīṁśi*, which forms part of the *Rājasūya* sacrifice.³ Thus we read in the Śat. Br. 5.3.1.11: *atha śvobhūte pālāgalasya gṛhān paretya.....adhvana ājyam juhoti* / *praheyo vai pālāgala adhvānam vai prahita eti* / *etad vā asyaikam ratnam yat pālāgalaḥ* / "And on the following day he goes to the house of the courier,....he offers ghee to the way,.....Fort he courier is to be dispatched, and when dispatched goes on his way,.....And he, the courier, assuredly is one of his (the king's) jewels". (Eggeling, Tr., Part III, p. 64). On the basis of *pālāgala*'s association with *adhvan*, and in view of the fact that he was dispatched on business, it seems

¹ The variant *pālākālī* occurs in the *Āp. Śr. S.* 2.10.2.

² Also cf. Śat. Br. 13.5.2.5-8; *Kāty. Śr. S.* 20.1.12 and *Sāmkh. Śr. S.* 16.4.4. I have not been able to verify the reference, *Kāty. Śr. S.* 20.8.25 given in BR Wörterbuch.

³ J. C. Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration*, pp. 49-57. From the chart to face p. 49 it is clear that *pālāgala* as a *ratnīn* occurs only in the White Yajurveda.

proper that the word is taken to mean a messenger.⁴ Moreover, in the Kāty. Śr. S. (15.3.13), the word *pālāgala* does not occur, but instead only the word *dūta* occurs, *caturghṛtām juṣāṇo 'dhvājyasya vetu iti dūtasya*, "(Saying) 'may the road, enjoying, partake of the ghee' (he offers ghee) taken four times (at the house, of the messenger)", which shows that *pālāgala* must have been some kind of a messenger. The Āp. Śr. S. 18.10.25 has this word in a slightly variant form, and adds one sūtra, which, it seems, is intended to explain the word *pālāgala* as some kind of messenger, *Adhvane svāhā iti pālākakasya grhe juhōti* "In der Wohnung des Pālākala bringt er eine Schmalzspende mit der Formel: "Für den weg, svāhā" dar." (Caland). To this Āpastamba adds, *anṭam dūtām bruvate* (18.10.26) "Man erklärt den Pālākala als: "der Lugenbote"" (Caland).⁵ Sāyana on the Śat. Br. 5.3.1.11 explains this sūtra from the Āp. Śr. S. as recording the view of some teachers according to whom *pālāgala* (or *-kala*) meant a messenger speaking falsehood (*pālāgulum' anṭavādīnam dūtām iti bruvate ācāryā ity arthah*). Apparently, the remark found in BR on *pālāgala*, "nach Andern ein lügenrischer Bote" (also MW, "according to others 'a bearer of false tidings'") is based on the Āp. Śr. Sūtra

The qualification 'speaking falsehood'⁵ (*anṭavādī*) given to *pālāgala* 'a messenger' by some teachers (*ācāryāḥ*) can obviously not be correct. No king is likely to keep such a messenger in his service, much less include him among his *ratnins*. This qualification only seems to be intended to set him off against another special messenger called *satyadūta* mentioned in another rite *satyadūta-haviṃśi*.⁶ The rite is so-called because messengers are sent to rival kings by the anointed king to announce the truth viz. "I have been anointed, I have become king". It is important to note that this *isṭi* occurs only in the description of the *rājasūya* in the Black Yajurveda, while *pālāgala* occurs in the list of the *ratnins* only in the White Yajurveda. It seems it is enough if we take the word to mean simply 'a messenger', without the qualification *anṭavādī*.⁷

⁴ Also Sāyana on the Śat. Br. 5.3.1.11 *pālāgalo nāma dūtah*. He also refers to the Kāty. and the Āp. Śr. Sūtra.

⁵ Caland observes in a footnote: "Oder" der Bote der die Lüge, d. h. die im Lande umhergehende Lüge, dem Fürsten zu melden hat" (?). This is only a round about way of justifying the term *anṭavādī*.

⁶ Cf Heesterman, *op cit*, pp. 203-208.

⁷ Heesterman's comment (pp. 207-208) does not seem to have any justification. He observes: "A few words may be added on account of the *anṭadūta*-, Āp.'s interpretation of the *pālākala*- whom we met among the *ratnins*. Whatever the politic reality represented by this designation may be, so much is clear, that in the ritual context the *anṭadūta*- is the counterpart of the *satyadūta*-. Where the *satyadūta*- is connected with birth and renewal, we may see in the *anṭadūta*- not a mere spy or agent-provocateur but the messenger of death and destruction, and connect him with the ritual phase of death which the king has to pass through in order to be reborn."

Mayrhofer (kurz. Ety. Wörterbuch) lists *pālāgala* as one of those words which have not been so far explained (nicht erklärt). He entertains the possibility of the basic form being **parā-gala* (or *-kala*) which may be derived from **parā-kṛta* 'despised' (verachtet), because *pālāgali* was perhaps the daughter of a man from a lower caste. But Mayrhofer himself admits that this is a difficult derivation. He further mentions that Dumont, in a letter to him, hesitatingly suggests to derive *pālāgala* from *palu* + *ā-gak*. 'man (of a lower caste) who eats flesh'. To me, Dumont appears to have started in the right direction. But I would rather take the basic form to be **parā-gara*, which in a 1 dialect would give **palā-gala*⁸ 'one who eats in distant lands, or who eats at others'. This would be an apt description of a messenger who has to be often away from his home on duty.

With *pālāgale*, thus explained, one may compare the expression *palāśādūta* which occurs, in connection with the caityayajña, in the Āś. Gr. S 1. 12. 2. This compound expression has not been noted either by BR or by MW. The sūtra in question runs as *yady u vai videśastham palāśādūtena*. "If, however, (the Kaitya) is distant, (he should send his Bali) through a leaf-messenger"⁹ (Oldenberg, SBE 29. 178-179). Oldenberg seems to understand by *palāśādūta*, not a real messenger, but one made out of a leaf. In footnote 2 he refers to the commentator Nārāyaṇa: *palāśena dūtam vivadham ca kuryāt*. Haradatta observes similarly; *palāśuvikṣena dūtam kārayitvā tena hārayet*.¹⁰ Oldenberg then adds, "It is not clear whether besides this image of a messenger there was also a real messenger who had to carry the Bali to the Kaitya, or whether the rite was purely symbolical." But the other sūtras in this section of the Āś. Gr. sūtra dealing with the caityayajña clearly show that a real messenger was sent out with the *hali*. It is the wrong explanation of *palāśādūta* 'a messenger made out of a leaf' that led Oldenberg to entertain a doubt about the reality of the rite. But *palāśādūta* can be more satisfactorily explained in the light of what has been said above about *pālāgala* (< *para* + $\sqrt{\text{gar-}}$). The word *palāśa* also seems to go back to **parāśu* which is to be derived from *para* + $\sqrt{\text{aś-}}$ 'one who eats in distant places, or in the house of others'. It is significant to note in this connection that the Āś. Gr. sūtra prescribes the sending of the *palāśādūta* if the caitya was *videśastha* 'situated in a distant or foreign land.'

⁸ *Pālāgala*, with lengthening in the first syllable, appears to be secondary.

⁹ So also Stenzler: "Wenn er aber für ein in der Ferne befindliches Denkmal opfert, (so soll er die Gabe darbringen) durch einen Blatt-Boten"

¹⁰ *Devasvāmin* does not explain the word.

SOME IMPORTANT VOCABLES FROM SANSKRIT COMMENTARIES ON JAINA CANONICAL TEXTS

By

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and

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The Sanskrit Commentaries on Jaina canonical texts in Prakrit, the voluminous texts on Jaina mythology like Ācārya Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣacarita*, the Caritras or narratives of the lives of individual *Tīrthāṅkaras* composed by numerous Jaina poets, the vast *Kathānaka* literature in prose and verse, the *Prabandha*-works by mediaeval Jaina authors, works on Jaina Theology, Cosmology and allied subjects as also the commentaries by Jaina authors on Classical Sanskrit works display, as it were, a regional style of Sanskrit language presenting a number of cases of the usage of rare and obsolete words and such hybrid forms as back-formations, hyper-Sanskritisations and dialectical words, expressions and even syntactical peculiarities. Consequently at least some knowledge of the old and modern regional languages and the Prakrits is essential for grasping the proper sense of such compositions.

In their "Lexicographical Studies in 'Jaina Sanskrit'" (M. S. University Oriental Series, No. 5), the present writers have shown the lexicographical importance of such peculiar words and expressions occurring in three foremost specimens of the *Prabandha* literature viz. the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga-sūri (1305 A.D.), the *Prabandhukośa* of Rājaśekharaśūri (1349 A.D.) and the *Purāṇanaprabandhasaṅgraha*—all published in the Singhī Jaina Series. The present paper proposes to bring out a similar study of some important vocabules selected from Sanskrit Commentaries on Jaina Canonical texts—commentaries written between the 8th and the 18th centuries A.D. in Western India, mostly in the regions where Gujarātī and Rājasthānī are being spoken today.

It may be clarified at the outset that this list is in no way an exhaustive one. In fact, these words were taken down casually by Dr. B. J. Sāṇḍesarā, one of the writers, about 15 to 20 years back while going through these works for another purpose, when he was Professor of Gujarātī and Ardhamāgadhī at the B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, Gujarāta Vidyā Sabhā, Ahmedabad. Now a lexicographical study of the same is being presented to the world of scholars, who are requested also to consult the present writers' aforesaid book while going through these pages. As there, here also equivalents from old and modern Gujarātī and from other cognate languages have been noted wheresoever possible. Quotations from Old Guj. texts etc. also have been occasionally

given with a view to show how the same or almost the same vocable is used both in Guj. and Skt.

List of Works Consulted with their Abbreviations

- AA:** Anuttaropapātikadaśā-sūtra-vṛtti of Abhayadevasūri (11th cent. A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, V.S. 1976 = 1920 A.D.
- AD:** Anuyogadvāra-sūtra-vṛtti of Maladhārī Hemacandra (12th cent. A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1924 A.D.
- ADC:** Anuyogadvāra-sūtra-cūrṇi; publ. Ṛṣabhadevajī Keśarīmalajī Śvetāmbara Saṁsthā, Ratalām.
- AHH:** Maladhārī Hemacandra's (12th cent. A.D.) Ṭippaṇa on Haribhadra's (8th cent. A.D.) Vṛtti on the Āvaśyaka-sūtra; publ. D. L. Jaina Pustakoddhāra Fund, Bombay, 1920 A.D.
- AM:** Āvaśyaka-sūtra with the comm. of Ācārya Malayagiri (12th cent. A.D.), in three parts; publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1928-32 A.D.
- AMH:** Anuyogadvāra-sūtra-vṛtti by Maladhārī Hemacandra (12th cent. A.D.); edition same as A.D.
- AS:** Ācārāṅga-sūtra-vṛtti by Śīlāṅkadeva (c. 8th cent. A.D.), in two parts; publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, V.S. 1972-73 = 1916-1917 A.D.; reprinted by Jainānanda Pustakālaya, Surat.
- AuA:** Aupapātika-sūtra-vṛtti by Abhayadevasūri (11th cent. A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Mehsana, V.S. 1972 = 1916 A.D.
- BKK:** Bṛhatkalpa-sūtra-vṛtti by Kṣemakīrtti (V.S. 1332 = 1276 A.D.), edited by Muniśrī Caturavijayajī and Muniśrī Puṇyavijayajī, in six parts; Bhāvanagar, 1933 A.D. ff.
- BKM:** Ācārya Malayagiri's (12th cent. A.D.) Pīṭhikā-vṛtti on Bṛhatkalpa-sūtra; edition same as BKK.
- BS:** Bhagavati-sūtra, in three parts; publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Ahmedabad, V.S. 1982-85 = A.D. 1926-29.
- BSA:** Bhagavati-sūtra-vṛtti by Abhayadevasūri (V.S. 1128 = 1072 A.D.); edition same as BS.
- DVC:** Daśavaikālika-cūrṇi of Jinadāsagaṇin Mahattara (7th cent. A.D.); publ. Ṛṣabhadevajī Keśarīmalajī Śvetāmbara Saṁsthā, Ratalām, V.S. 1989 = 1933 A.D.
- DVH:** Daśavaikālika-sūtra-vṛtti by Haribhadra (8th cent. A.D.); publ. D. L. Jaina Pustakoddhāra Fund, V.S. 1974 = 1918 A.D.
- JDA:** Jñātādharma-kathā-sūtra-vṛtti by Abhayadevasūri (V.S. 1120 = 1064 A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1919 A.D.

- JKB:** *Jitakalpa-sūtra-bhāṣya*; ed. by Muni Puṇyavijayaḥ, Ahmedabad, V.S. 1994 = 1938 A.D.
- JKC:** *Jitakalpa-cūṛṇi*; ed. by Muni Jinavijayaḥ, Ahmedabad, V.S. 1983 = 1927 A.D.
- JKCV:** *Jitakalpa-cūṛṇi-visamapadavyākhyā* by Śricandrasūri (V.S. 1227 = 1171 A.D.); edition same as *JKC*.
- JKM:** *Jyotiṣkaraṇḍaka-vṛtti* by Malayagiri (12th cent. A.D.); publ. Ṛṣabha-devaḥ Keśarimalaḥ Śvetāmbara Samsthā, Ratalām, V.S. 1984 = 1928 A.D.
- JM:** *Jivābhigama-sūtra-vṛtti* by Ācārya Malayagiri (12th Cent. A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay.
- JPS:** *Jambūdvīpa-prajñapti-vṛtti* by Vācaka Śāntīcandra (V.S. 1650 = 1594 A.D.), publ. D. L. Jaina Pustakodhāra Fund, Bombay, V.S. 1976 = 1920 A.D.
- KD:** *Kalpa-sūtra-dīpikā* by Jayavijaya (V.S. 1677 = 1621 A.D.); ed. by Pt. Maṇḍalāla Jhaverīcandra, publ. Mahopādhyāya Yaśovijaya Pustakālaya, Rādhāpur, V.S. 1991 = 1935 A.D.
- KK:** *Kalpa-sūtra-kīraṇāvali* by Upādhyāya Dharmasāgara (V.S. 1628 = 1572 A.D.); ed. by Pt. Dānavijaya, Bhāvanagar, V.S. 1978 = 1922 A.D.
- KKS:** *Kalpa-sūtra-Kaumudī* by Upādhyāya Śāntisāgara (V.S. 1707 = 1651 A.D.); publ. Ṛṣabhadevaḥ Keśarimalaḥ Śvetāmbara Samsthā, Ratalām, V.S. 1992 = 1936 A.D.
- KS:** *Kalpa-sūtra-subodhikā* by Vinayavijaya (V.S. 1696 = 1640 A.D.); publ. D. L. Jaina Pustakodhāra Fund, Surat, V.S. 1967 = 1911 A.D.
- KSV:** *Kalpa-sūtra-sandehaviśeṣasādhī* by Jinaprabhasūri of Kharataragaccha (V.S. 1364 = 1308 A.D.); ed. by Pt. Hīrālāla Hamsarāja, Jāmanagar, V.S. 1969 = 1913 A.D.
- NC:** *Nisītha-sūtra-cūṛṇi*, ed. by Ācārya Vijayapremasūri, in five parts, V.S. 1995-96 = 1939-40 A.D.; Typed copy.
- NM:** *Nandī-sūtra-vṛtti* by Ācārya Malayagiri (12th cent. A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1924 A.D.
- NS:** *Nirayāvalikā-sūtra-vṛtti* by Śricandrasūri (V.S. 1128 = 1072 A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, V.S. 1978 = 1922 A.D.
- OND:** *Ogha-niryukti-vṛtti* by Dronācārya (11th cent. A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Mehsana, V.S. 1975 = 1919 A.D.
- PD:** *Prakīrnaka-daśakam*; publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay, V.S. 1983 = 1927 A.D.

- PM:** *Prajñāpanā-sūtra-vṛtti* by Malayagiri (12th cent. A.D.), in two volumes; publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Mehsana, V.S. 1974-75 = 1918-19 A.D.
- PNM:** *Pinḍa-niryukti-bhāṣya* and commentary by Malayagiri (12th cent. A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay, V.S. 1974 = 1918 A.D.
- PYA:** *Praśnavyākaraṇa-sūtra-vṛtti* by Abhayadevasūri (11th cent. A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Mehsana, V.S. 1975 = 1919 A.D.
- PY:** *Pākṣika-sūtra-vṛtti* by Yaśodevasūri (V.S. 1180 = 1124 A.D.); publ. D. L. Jaina Pustakodhāra Fund, Bombay, V.S. 1967 = 1911 A.D.
- RPM:** *Rājapraśniya-sūtra-vṛtti* by Malayagiri (12th cent. A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay, V.S. 1981 = 1925 A.D.
- SA:** *Sthānāṅga-sūtra-vṛtti* by Abhayadevasūri (V.S. 1120 = 1064 A.D.), in two parts; publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, V.S. 1976 = 1920 A.D.
- SKC:** *Sūtrakṛtāṅga-sūtra-cūrṇi* by Jinadāsaganin Mahattara (7th cent. A.D.); publ. Ṛṣabhadevajī Keśarimalajī Śvetāmbara Samsthā, Ratalām, V.S. 1998 = 1942 A.D.
- SKS:** *Sūtrakṛtāṅga-sūtra-vṛtti* by Śīlāṅkadeva (c. 8th cent. A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Mehsana, V.S. 1973 = 1917 A.D.
- SPD:** *Śrāddhapratikramana-sūtra-Vandāruvṛtti* by Devendrasūri (13th cent. A.D.); publ. D. L. Jaina Pustakodhāra Fund, Bombay, V.S. 1968 = 1912 A.D.
- SPM:** *Sūryaprajñapti-vṛtti* by Malayagiri (12th cent. A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, V.S. 1975 = 1919 A.D.
- SPR:** *Śrāddhapratikramana-sūtra-vṛtti* by Ratnaśekharaśūri (V.S. 1446 = 1440 A.D.); publ. D. L. Jaina Pustakodhāra Fund, Bombay, V.S. 1968 = 1912 A.D.
- SSA:** Same as *SA*.
- SVV:** Same as *SPD*.
- UC:** *Uttarādhyaṇa-sūtra-cūrṇi*; publ. Ṛṣabhadevajī Keśarimalajī Śvetāmbara Samsthā, Ratalām, V.S. 1998 = 1942 A.D.
- UDA:** *Upāsakadaśā-sūtra-vṛtti* by Abhayadevasūri (11th cent. A.D.), publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Mehsana, V.S. 1976 = 1920 A.D.
- UN:** *Uttarādhyaṇa-sūtra-vṛtti* by Nemicaṇḍra (V.S. 1129 = 1073 A.D.); ed. by Vijaya-umaṅgaśūri, V.S. 1993 = 1937 A.D.
- US:** *Uttarādhyaṇa-sūtra-vṛtti* by Śāntisūri (11th cent. A.D.), in three parts; publ. D. L. Jaina Pustakodhāra Fund, V.S. 1972-73 = 1916-17 A.D.

- VA:** *Vipāka-sūtra-vṛtti* by Abhayadevasūri (11th cent. A.D.) ; publ. Āga-
modaya Samiti, V.S. 1976 = 1920 A.D.
- VAK:** *Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya-vṛtti* by Koṭyācārya (c. 8th cent. A.D.); publ.
Ṛṣabhadevaḥ Keśarimalaji Śvetāmbara Saṁsthā, Ratalām.
- VM:** *Vyavahāra-sūtra-vṛtti* by Malayagiri (12th cent. A.D.); ed. by Muni
Māṇeka, Ahmedābad.

Other Important Abbreviations

<i>Adh.</i>	Adhyavana.
<i>adj.</i>	adjective.
<i>f.</i>	feminine.
<i>Guj.</i>	Gujarāta, Gujarati
<i>ind.</i>	indeclinable.
<i>l(1).</i>	line(s).
<i>lit.</i>	literal(ly).
<i>m.</i>	masculine.
<i>Mar.</i>	Marāṭhī.
<i>mod.</i>	modern.
<i>n.</i>	neuter.
<i>N. Guj</i>	North Gujarāta
<i>p(p).</i>	page(s).
<i>Pkt.</i>	Prakrit.
<i>pl.</i>	plural.
<i>Śat.</i>	Śataka.
<i>sing.</i>	singular.
<i>Skt.</i>	Sanskrit
<i>Sṛuta.</i>	Śrutasandhā.
<i>Udd.</i>	Uddeśaka.

अभिष्टिका f. a grate, a fire-place.

तथा दक्षिणापथे कुडवारधेमानया समिनया महाप्रमाणो मण्डकः क्रियते, स हेमन्तकाले-
ऽरुणोदयवेलाया अभिष्टिकायां पक्त्वा धूर्जज्ज्ञाय दीयते, न गृहीत्वा भुञ्जानस्य तृतीयो
मृतः ।

—BKK., Vol. III, page 808. cf. Guj. अग्रीही; *Vide* अङ्गारशकटिका.

अङ्गुटक m. a nail, a hook.

नागदन्ता—अङ्गुटकाः—

—JM., *Sūtra* 183 (*Pratipatti* 3), leaf 361. cf. Guj. अंकडे 'a nail',
अकोडे 'a link'.

अङ्गारशकटिका f. a grate, a fire-place.

तस्मिंश्च शिशिरे हिमकण्णिनि मारुते च प्रवाति सति एके न सर्वे 'अनगारा'

अङ्गारशकटिकामन्वेयन्ति...

—AS., page 281, lines 1-2. cf. Guj. शगडी. *Vide* अभिष्टिका.

Sanskrit *Chāyā* of the above quotation:

इदमेष शरीरे.....गल्लयनकर्णौष्ठगण्डतालुकं अवालुलीलपिच्छलं व्यलीकं (चिकचिकाय-
मानं).....स्वभावतः परमदुर्गन्धि कालेयकान्त्रपित्तज्वरहृदयफेफसप्लीहोदरगुल्फकुणिमन-
वच्छिद्रहृदगायमानहृदयं....., एष परमार्थतः स्वभावः ॥

—PD., 5 *Tundulavaiśārīkaprakīrṇakam*, pp. 46-47. cf. Deśi अवालुआ;
Guj. अवाळु.

अस्तर n. a layer.

विटङ्कः—कपोतपाली वरणिङ्काधोवर्ती अस्तरविशेषः—

—JDA., p. 14. cf. Skt. स्तर; Guj. अस्तर, थर; Mar. अस्तर.

आडली f. Name of a plant, *Tanner's Cassia*, *Cassia Auriculata*,
Leguminosae. तडवडा—आडली तस्याः कुमुमं तडवडाकुमुमम्—

—RPM., *Sūtra* 15, leaf 32. The same wording is found also in
JM., *Sūtra* 126, leaf 191 and JPS., leaf 34. cf. Skt. आवत्तैकी; Guj.
आवळ. The *Sārtha Gujarātī Jodanikōśa* (p. 113 of 1949 ed.) derives
the word आवळ from Skt. आमलक which is not correct.

आजओ m. a wild fragrant type of the holy basil *Tulasī*: *Ocimum*
Gratissimum.

‘आयंकमञ्जरीकेव’ आर्येको वनस्पतिविज्ञेयो यो लोके आजओ इति प्रसिद्धस्तस्य मञ्जरिका इव
—JPS., leaf 424 [The word आयंक is probably a corrupted form of
Skt. अञ्जक, as states Śrī Bāpālāla G. Vaidya, a well-known Botanist
and Principal, Occhavalāla Nāzara Āyurveda Mahāvidyālaya, Surat,
in his letter dated the 22nd January, 1965.]

आमलसारक n. a flat fluted melon-shaped member usually at the
summit of the spire of a temple.

‘धासयावली इव’ति स्थासकाद्रगेणःकुनय. रङ्गकालपु सर्वात्मन तेषामुपपुष्पगिरिस्थिता-
नामावली—पद्धतिः देवकुलामलसारकाकृतिरिति भावः ।

—AA., *Sūtra* 3, leaf 5 [In Old Guj. also the word आमलसारक is fairly
current. Vide e.g. *Prācīna Gurtara Kāvyaśaṅgraha* (G. O. Series
no. XIII), p. 4, *Revantagīrīrāsu* (c. V.S. 1277 = 1221 A.D.), I. 10.

इकड f. name of a plant having red stalk, *Sesbania aegyptiaca*.

हरितानि—बीजेभ्यः सम्भूतानि इकडादीनि भवन्ति ॥ ५५ ॥

—KKS., *Kṣana* 2, p. 232. cf. Skt. इक्षट; Guj. ईकड.

उज्जानिका f. picnic.

उद्यानानि पत्रपुष्पफलज्यापोषणतृक्षोपशोभितानि, बहुजनस्य विविधव्येष्ट्योपभोग्यमानस्य
भोजनार्थं यानं येष्विति व्युत्पत्त्या उज्जानिकास्थानानि ।

—KSV, p. 75. cf. Pkt. उज्जानी, Guj. उज्जानी.

उडद् m. the kidney-bean, *Phaseolus radiatus*.

मायो-धान्यविशेषः उडद् इति लोके रूढः—

—NS., p. 23;

‘कुलमापाः’ उडद् रात्रमापा वा—

—BKK., Vol. II, p. 504.

[The first reference hints at the fact that in the days of Śricandra-sūri, i.e., in the eleventh century A.D., this word was prevalent in the regional language of Gujarāta.] cf. Deśī उडिद, Hindī उडद; Guj. भडद.

उण्ड adj. deep.

उल्लिङ्ग—उण्ड—

—RPM., Sūtra 1, leaf 2. cf. Deśī उंड, उंडन, उडय; Guj. ऊडु.

उण्डत्व n. depth.

उड्ढेन-उण्डत्वेन अच्छोऽनाविलजलवान्—

—JPS., leaf 284.

उत्कुरुटक m. a dung-hill, a rubbish-hill.

धारस्य भस्मन उत्कुरुटकस्य कचवरपुत्रकस्य उपलक्षणत्वाद् बुसादीना वा समीपे स्थितः—

—BKK., Vol. II, p. 561. cf. Deśī उकरड, उवुरुड, Guj. उकरडो. Vide उत्कुरुटिका.

उत्कुरुटिका f. same as उत्कुरुटक.

यथा हि गण्डकः कस्मिंश्चित्कारणे आपन्ने उत्कुरुटिकायामारुह्य बोधयति ग्रामे—इदं प्रत्यूषसि कर्तव्यं—

—OND, Gāthā 644, leaf 202. cf. Deśī उकरडी—डिया, उत्कुरुडी—डिया; Guj. उकरडी.

उल्ली f. mould, the excretion that gathers from dampness.

पनक उल्ली, स च प्रायः प्रावृषि भूकाष्ठादिषु जायते, यद्योपायते तद्द्रव्यसमवर्णश्च नाम पनक्त्यत्र नाम प्रसिद्धौ—

—KS., p. 565.

पनक उल्ली, स च प्रायो वर्षाकाले भूमिच्छादभाष्ठादिषु जायते, यत्र चोपचते तद्द्रव्य-समानवर्णः प्रसृतः—

—KKS., Kṣana 9, p. 226.

पनकः—उल्लीः स च प्रायः प्रावृषि भूकाष्ठादिषु जायते, यद्योत्पद्यते तद्द्रव्यसमवर्णश्च—

—KD, Paryuṣaṇa-sāmācārī, p. 16. cf. Pkt. उल्लिङ्ग ‘moistened’; Guj. ऊल ‘the dry or arid saliva on the tongue’.

[It will be interesting to note that Skt. आर्द्र > Pkt. अह्ण and उह्ण; Guj. आहु ‘moistened’ is derived from the former while the latter gives Guj. ऊज.]

ओलंबणदीव m. the hanging lamp carried by the bride-groom’s mother in the wedding-procession.

‘ओलंबणदीवे’ति शुङ्खलावद्धप्रदीपान्—

—BSA., Sat. 11, Udd. 11. This is a derivative of Skt. अवलम्ब-मानदीपकः > Pkt. अवलम्बमाणदीवउ > Guj. ओलम्बणदीवो, लामणदीवो, रामणदीवो. cf. Mar. लामणदीवा.

ककिण्ड f. a female chameleon.

दक्षोदलिआ आदिलोडी सरडी ककिण्डीयेकार्था—

—KD., *Paryuṣaṇā-samācārī*, p. 17. cf. Dāki ककिण्ड; Guj. कक्की. Vide वाकिण्डी.

क[का]कडुक adj. hard (grain), that cannot become tender even though well-boiled.

ते कडुकमुद्राः सकारणवशनस्याम्पा एव जाना ये स्थानेनवनकालादिमामघ्रीसम्पकेऽपि न पाकमशुवते इति—

—NM., p. 224, lines 24-25,

स्थानीयनकालादिमामघ्रीसम्पकेऽपि न काकडुकमुद्रानां पक्षिष्यन्त्यते—

—*Ibid.*, p. 214, line 22 ;

कचित् कडुककृतमिति दृश्यते तत्र कडुकाः—काकडुकवीजभाषाः अथेयथा. मद्रगुणानामिति—

—PVA., I. 3. leaf 43. cf. Guj. गांवडु.

कङ्कनिक m. a comb.

तत्र फणिहः कङ्कनिकस्तं मन्त्रकारौ व्यापारयन्ति—

—AD., p. 24, line 8. cf. Hindi कंरा.

कचवर m. rubbish, sweepings.

धारय्य भस्मन उत्कुरटकस्य कचवरपुत्रकस्य उत्प्लक्ष्य वाद् गृहाशीर्षा वा सगोषे स्थितः—

—BDK., Vol. II, p. 561 ;

दर्शनमेवामारमिश्रवाचिकचवरमन्त्रा विजुह्वयथा यस्य तत्त्वा—

—NM., p. 43, l. 4 and p. 57, l. 22. Also vide AS., p. 10, ll. 12, 15 and p. 50, ll. 2, 15. cf. Desi कचरा, कचवार; Guj. कचम, क.रा; Hindi कचरा.

कचेरी f. a court, an office.

वार्हसिंय उवद्राणयार्थ—वाश 'वर्गानयार्थ' 'कचेरी' इति श्लोक—

—KS., p. 166. cf. कचरा, कचरी and such allied forms in several modern Indian languages.

कटपल्या f. the dried stalks of jowar and millet used as a forage for cattle.

कडपल्यां गण्णा, तण्डराणं च वेवितो वल्लया । —'देशीतः'—'देशीनायामाश्रित्य कटपल्यानां तण्डराणां च वल्लयाणि संज्ञा ।—

—BKK., Vol. IV, *Bhāṣyagāthā* 3298, p. 926. cf. Guj. कटव f.

कटपली f. a big vessel for storing grains.

ते च दरा द्विविधाः तद्यथा—पोट्टरा धान्यभाजनदराश्च । तत्र पोट्टम्-उदरे तदूपा दराः पोट्टराः, धान्यभाजनानि—कटपल्लयादयस्तान्येव दरा धान्यभाजनदराः ।

—BKK., Vol. III, p. 815. cf. Guj. कटोरी, कटोरी, कटोरी (in the dialect of N. Guj.) 'a room in the house for storing grains and other articles'.

कदरि ind. an exclamatory or laudatory particle

अहो महती वृष्टतावृष्टिः कदरि कठिनः कृष्टजनदृष्टग्रहः—

—JPS., leaf 2.

The word is prevalent in Apabhramśa and Old Guj. exactly in this sense; *vide e.g.*

अणु जु तुच्छउं तहे धणहे

तं अक्खणह न जाइ ।

कदरि खणेतु मुद्धहे

जे मणु बिचि न माइ ॥

—*Siddhahemāśabdānūsāna*, VIII. iv. 350.

Also *cf.* *Vastupālacarita* of Jinaharṣagataṃ (V.S. 1497–1441 A.D.)

द्रुमेणापि तदा पुनं तत्र मन्त्रिमहोत्सवे ।

नैव प्रापि जनैः क्वापि कदरे मन्त्रिवैद्ययम् ॥ VII. 89.

The vocables कदरि-कदरे may be derived from Skt. कृन् > Pkt. कट + exclamatory रे-रि. This is supported by a *v.l.* found in Hemacandra *viz.* कदरि which is quite in affinity with कड, the alternative Pkt. form of Skt. कृन्. *Vide* Dr. Sāṇḍesarī's note on कदरि-कदरे in *Buddhiprakāśa* (Guj.), September 1960, pp. 312-313.

कटोरक m. a cup, a bowl.

यो मामपूर्वं धावयति तस्मै लक्षगुह्यमिदं कटोरकं ददामि—

—SA., *Adh.* 4, *Udd.* 2, leaf 260. *cf.* Deśi कटोरक, Guj. कटोरे

कडुच्छुक m. a large spoon, a ladle.

तथा 'मानकं' गृहस्थसकं कडुच्छुकादि—उदकाद्रीदि—

—OND., *Gāthā* 516, leaf 177. *cf.* Deśi कडुच्छु; Guj. कडुछो.

कणिका f. [1] dough.

ततो गृहमागता सती तथाविधोन्मत्तवशाद् वृश्चिकं कणिकामये भक्षणाय हस्ते न्यस्तवती—NM., p. 149, l. 13. *cf.* Skt. कणिक, कणीक, Pkt. कणिका, Guj. कणिक, कणक; Hindi कनेक; Mar. कणीक.

[2] broken grains of rice, any small grain.

चाउनी लोकप्रसिद्धा यया कणिकादि चान्यते—

—NM., p. 57, ll. 2-3. *cf.* Skt. कणिका; Pkt. कणिव, कणिया, Guj. कणकी; Hindi कणिका.

कण्टासेलिआ m. Name of a plant, *Barleria prionitis*.

कोरण्टकः पुष्पजातिविशेषः स च कण्टासेलिआख्यः सम्भाव्यते—

—JPS., leaf 34. *cf.* Guj. कांटासलियो, कांटासरियो, कांटाअशेलियो, कांटाअसलियो.

कण्ठिका f. a necklace.

प्रेमविकानि—कण्ठिकाख्यप्रीवाभरणानि—

—KD., p. 54. *cf.* Guj. कंठी. *Vide* कण्ठी.

- कण्ठी** f. *same as* कण्टिका.
कण्ठमणिमुत्पाण य—कण्ठस्थितमणिस्त्रयेण, कण्ठीतिप्रसिद्धेनालङ्कृताम्—
—KKS., *Kṣapa* II, p. 53. cf. Guj. कंठी.
- कत्तलिका** f. a thin slice.
तत्र यत् चिमेटादिकं विशयं ऊर्ध्वफालिकाः पेटयः कृतं तत् कटुकमित्रं, यत् पुनस्तिर्यग्
बृहत्याः कत्तलिकाः कृतं तत् चकलिकाभिन्नम्—
—BKK. Vol. II, p. 332. cf. Pkt. कतरित्र; Guj. कानली, कानगी; Koṅkani
कानली; Mar. कानला.
- कन्धिका** f. a small bamboo stick.
राजा प्रबोधमुपजगाम, शक्तिर्वाध रोहके, स च निद्रामरपुगाब्धो न प्रतिवार्यं दत्तवान्,
ततो राजा लीलाकन्धिकाया मनाक् तं स्पृष्टवान्, ततः सोऽपगमनिद्री जातः—
—NM., p. 148, ll. 25-26;
चतुर्थेन वृक्षिकेन (जातः), यन्मामपि बालकं निद्रामरसुप्तं लीलाकन्धिकायां वृथिक
द्व निदये तुदत्ति—
—*Ibid.* p. 149, ll 5-6 cf. Guj. कांब(री), कवा; Mar. कान
- कर्करिका** f. a small pebble; sand.
शर्कराः—कर्करिकाः—
—JPS, leaf 374. cf. Guj. कर्करा
- कलाय** m. a field pea, *Pisum sativum*, known in Guj. as चटाणा,
KK., p. 74.
- काकिण्डी** f. *same as* ककिण्डि.
हाहोहलिआ अहिलेही सरटी 'काकिण्डी' इति लोके—
—KS., p. 567. cf. Deśī ककिण्ड, Guj. का कीडी,
- काको** m. an uncle.
[समणस्स णं भगवजो महावीरस्स पित्तज्जे सुपासे]—अमणस्य भगवतो महावीरस्य
(पित्तज्जे सुपासे) पितृव्यः 'काको' इति सुपासः—
—KS., p. 269 cf. Persian काका 'an elder brother, father's brother,
an old servant', whence Guj. काको and Hindī चाचा 'an uncle.'
- काजिक** n. gruel.
उत्कृष्टमेतद्द्रव्यं—काजिकं घुरमि क्षेत्रतोऽरण्यं कुतोऽस्य सम्भवः ?—
—OND., leaf 160. cf. Guj., Mar. कांजी f.; Hindī कैजी f.
- कारकु[ह]न** m. a clerk.
पापायां मध्यमायां हस्तिपालस्य राज्ञः रज्जुका लेखकाः 'कारकुन' इति लोके प्रसिद्धा-
स्तेषां शाला सभा जीर्णा...
—KS., leaf 310;
रज्जुका—लेखका लोके कारकुनाः—

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* VI, p. 126. *cf.* Persian کارکن 'a doer, a worker' whence कारकुन 'a clerk' in several modern Indian languages.

कारवेष्ट n. a squirting cucumber.

मरिचादिषु कटुको रसः कारवेष्टादिषु तिक्तः—

—JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* II, leaf 174. *cf.* Deśī कारेष्टव; Guj. कारेजु. *Vide* कारेष्टक.

कारेष्टक n. *same as* कारेष्ट.

'कारेष्टाच्छली' ति कारेष्टकं वल्लीविशेषफलम्—

—AA., leaf 6. *cf.* Deśī कारेष्टव, Guj. कारेजु.

कालिङ्ग n. a water-melon, *Citrullus vulgaris*.

यगुतु वृन्तादकालिङ्गमूलकानां च भक्षकः ।

अन्तकाले स मृदात्मा न स्मरिष्यति मां प्रियैः ॥ १ ॥

—SPR., p. 118. *cf.* Guj. कालंगडुं, कालिंगडुं. *Vide* कालिङ्गीफल.

कालिङ्गीफल n. *same as* कालिङ्ग.

गवाशीनामप्रियवककालिङ्गीफलस्वेदादिना शृङ्गाणि वक्राणि ऋजूनि ऋजूनि वक्राणि करोति ।

—SPR., p. 71. *cf.* Guj. कालिंगडीनु फळ.

कावडि f. a bamboo lath provided with slings at each end for carrying pitchers etc. on one's shoulders.

'कावडिच्छाडि वे'ति कावाः—कावडिवाहकास्तेषां प्रेक्षा, मागधंप्रेक्षा वा—

—JM., *Pratipatti* III, *Sūtra* 147, leaf 281. [*cf.* Deśī काव, कावड, कावडि, कावोडि; Guj. कावड, कावडी; Hindī काँवर.

कुञ्जिक m. a key-holder.

सगो महाभयं जं विहेडिओ सावएण संतेणं ।

पुतेण हिए अत्थेमि मणिवई कुञ्चिएण जडा ॥ १३३ ॥ ४०८ ॥

Sanskrit *Chāyā*—

सज्ञो महाभयं यद्वाधितः श्रावकेण गता ।

पुत्रेण हतेऽर्थे मुनिपतिः कुञ्जिकेन यथा ॥ १३३ ॥

—PD. IV : *Bhaktaparyjñā-prakīrnaka* p. 28 *cf.* Guj. कुंजी and Hindī कुजी 'a key'. *Vide* कुञ्जिका [1].

कुञ्जिका f. [1] a key.

घेण्ड अकुञ्चियारमि क्वाडे...*Sūtra* 356. 'अकुञ्चिकाके' कुञ्जिकारहिते कुञ्जिका-विवररहिते इत्यर्थः, तत्र हि किल पृष्ठभागे उल्लालको न भवति तेन न घर्षणद्वारेण सत्त्वविराधना, यद्वा—'अकुञ्चियारो'ति पाठः, तत्र 'अकुञ्जिकाके' कुञ्जिकारहिते अकेङ्कारावे, किमुक्तं भवति ?—यदुद्धाख्यमानं कपाटं कैकाररवं न करोति ।

—PNM., *Udghinnadoṣa*, XII, in *Udgamaīṣaṇā*, p. 107;

पेटा उद्देशकाः स्युः षड्विह महतामुद्रिता अर्थरत्नैः ।

पूर्णस्तवाऽऽस्य पेटा प्रकटनविधये कुञ्चिकैवाऽस्तु टीका ॥

—BKK., Vol. III, last verse of the commentary on the first *Uddesaka*, p. 921. cf. Pkt. कुंजिया, कोंजिया; Guj. कुंजी, Hindi कुंजी. Vide कुञ्चिक

[2] a painter's brush

‘चित्रकारे’ति चित्रकारः, स च रूपकभूमिकागम्यत्वादात्रे रूपकप्रमाणं जानाति तावन्मात्रं वा वर्णं कुञ्चिकायां दृष्टाति यावन्मात्रेण प्रयोजनमिति ॥

—NM., p. 165, ll. 9-10. cf. Guj. कुंजी, कुञ्चरी.

कुथुम्भरी f. the coriander plant, *Coriandrum sativum*.

“धान्या” कुथुम्भरी—

—NC., part II, p. 236. cf. Skt. कुथुम्भरी, Pkt. कुत्तुम्भी; Guj. कोथमरी, कोथमी, कोथमीर. Vide कुत्तुम्भ[री].

कुलत्थ n. a kind of black seeds used as food.

धन्नेर्ण—धान्येन चतुर्विंशतिभेदेन, तद्यथा-

धन्नाहं चउवीसं ।

अव १ गोहुम २ सालि ३ वीहि ४ मट्टीअ ५ ॥

कुहव ६ अणुआ ७ कंसु ८ ।

रालय ९ तिल १० मुग्ग ११ मामा य १२ ॥

अयनि १३ हरिमंथ १४ तिउडा १५ ।

निष्काव १६ सिलिद १७ रायमासा य १८ ॥

उत्त १९ मसूर २० तुवरी २१ ।

कुलत्थ २२ तह धनय २३ कळायां २४ ॥२॥

—KS., p. 215. cf. Guj. कळयी f.; Hindi कलथी; Mar. कुळीय. Vide कुलत्था.

कुलत्था f. same as कुलत्थ.

कुलत्था—धान्याविशेषः—

—NS., p. 23; also AS., p. 51, l. 27. cf. Guj. कळयी f.; Hindi कलथी; Mar. कुळीय.

कुलातरा f. an insect.

उत्कलिका दत्ता ‘कुलातरा’ इति लोके—

—KS., p. 567.

कुल्लहिका f. a small earthen water-pot.

तथा घटिका मृन्मयकुल्लहिका—

—SKS., *Śrutaskandha* 1, Adh. IV, Udd. 2, leaf 118. cf. Deśī कुल्लह; Guj. कुल्ली.

कुसण n. an utensil, a vessel.

अन्यदा च तेनाविरतिर्नेन दिवा भुज्जानेन महिला भणिता—मन्त्रिमितमथ कुसणं स्थापयेः, पथाच्च मम रात्रौ भुज्जानस्य, 'दद्याः' परिवेषयेः। ततस्तथा स्थापितम्। तच्च शुनकेन भक्षितम्। रात्रौ च सा भणिता—परिवेषय मम तत्कुसणम्। तथा भणितम्—शुनकेन भक्षितम्।

—BKK., Vol. III, p. 804. cf. Guj. वासण-कूण.

कुस्तुम्भ[म्भ]री f. same as कुथुम्भरी.

'कोत्थुम्भरि'ति कुस्तुम्भर्या—धान्यकण्ठाः—

—JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 3, leaves 243-44;

पूर्वं च कुस्तुम्भरीशब्देन धान्यभेदः समुद्घीतः, इदानीं तत्पत्राणां भक्ष्यत्वेन पत्रशास्त्रेषु संग्रहे इति न पौनश्चयम्—

—*Ibid.*, leaf 244. cf. Pkt. कुथुम्भरी; Guj. कोथमरी, कोथमी, कोथमरी.

कूट m., n. a stone contrivance for killing.

कूटस्यैव पाषाणमयमहामारणयन्त्रस्यैव—

—NS., p. 8. cf. Pkt. कूट.

✓कूर्द to jump, to leap.

यथा 'गोः' बलीवर्हो महता भारेण लङ्घितो हलं वा वहमानः प्रतोद्रेनातितोदिनः सन कूर्दयित्वा भारं पातयति हलं वा भनक्ति—

—BKK., Vol. II, p. 391. cf. Guj. कूरडुं. Vide कूर्दन

कूर्दन n. jumping, leaping.

वत्सग्नं कूर्दनम्—

—JDA., p. 232. cf. Guj. कूर. Vide ✓कूर्द.

कोट्ट m. a fortress.

म्लेच्छकोट्टं वा गताः परतीर्थिकल्पेण दिवा पुद्गलादिकं गृह्णन्ति।

—BKK., Vol. III, p. 819;

तथा कोट्टं नाम—यददृष्ट्या चतुर्वर्णजनपदमिधं निष्ठदुर्गं वसति—

—*Ibid.*, p. 825. cf. Deśī कोट्ट; Guj., Hindi, Mar. कोट.

कोट्टक n. a place in jungle where the wild tribes used to collect and dry fruits etc. for sale in cities.

जनः लोकः प्रचुरफलायामटव्यां गत्वा फलानि यावत्पर्याप्तं गृहीत्वा यत्र गत्वा शोषयति, पश्चात् गन्ध्रीपोद्गलकादिभिरानीय नगरादौ विक्रीणाति तत् कोट्टकमुच्यते। ननधारण्ये कोट्टकादौ प्रदेशे यत्र जनः फलानि शोषणार्थं 'पुञ्जयति' पुञ्जीकरोति तत्र—

—BKK., p. 279 and

'कोट्टकं नाम जल्य भिन्ना लोगो वा अडवीए पडरफलाए गंतुं फलाणि पुंजेति'—

—a quotation from the *Cūṛṇi* on the same page. cf. Pkt. कोट्टक 'a store-house'; Guj. कोडे; also cf. कोडी (factory) of the East India

Company at Surat which was not only their office but also a warehouse. Later on कोठी came to be used as an administrative office or administrative building or just the residence of a dignitary. It will be interesting to note in this connection that several years back the administrative building of the Municipality at Ahmedabad was known as कोठे.

कोष्पटिका f. an upper thin film or crust.

पृथिवी नाम केंदरावृपरिवर्तिनी शुष्ककोष्पटिका श्लक्ष्णखटिकानिर्मिता वा—

—BKK., p. 305. cf. Guj. कोपटी, कपोटी prevalent in the same sense in the dialects of Saurāṣṭra and north Gujarāṭa.

कोल्हुक n. a machine for extracting juice from sugar-cane.

[जेते रसो गुळो वा, तेहें चकम्मि तेछु वा जं तू.]—यन्त्रमपि सागारिकस्यान्यैः सह साधारणं स्यात् । तच्च द्विधा— इक्षुयन्त्रं तिलयन्त्रं च । तत्रेक्षुयन्त्रे कोल्हुकाख्ये रसो गुडो वा भवेत् । तिलयन्त्रं तु चकमुच्यते, तत्र तैलं निष्कातसीसर्षपादीनां भवेत् ।

—BKK., *Bhāṣyagāthā* 3648, Vol IV, p. 1013. cf. Pkt. कोल्हुअ, Guj. कोड.

क्रियाणक n. grocery.

नानाविधे क्रियाणके सर्वं छर्दयित्वा परित्यज्य—

—VM., part IV, sub-part 1, p. 51. cf. Skt. क्रयाण; Pkt. क्रिराण; Guj. करियाण, Hindi कराना; Mar. क्रिराणा.

क्षत्र n. a hole dug in the wall of a house with a view to enter the same for committing theft.

क्षत्रखानका ये सन्धानवर्जितमिनीः ग्राणयन्ति ।

—JDA., p. 239;

(खसखणणादीहिं गगरे उपह्वंति)—

Sanskrit *Chāyā*:

क्षत्रखननादिना नगरमुपद्रवन्ति—

—VM., part III, p. 77. cf. Guj. खातर.

क्षेपिणी f. a contrivance (sling?) for throwing lead-balls.

(खेपणि)—क्षिप्यन्ते सीसकण्टिका अभिगति क्षेपिण्यो—हथनालिरिति लोके प्राप्तद्धाः खङ्गाः—

—JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 3, leaf 206. Vide हथनालि.

खट्टामह m a bed-ridden person; lit. : 'an athlete of the cot'.

, खट्टामहो' नाम प्रबलजराजर्जरितदेहतया यः खट्टाया उत्थानं न शक्नोति—

—BKK., Vol. III p. 737. cf. Guj., Hindi, Mar. खटल 'a bed-bug'.

खड्किका f. a side-door; a small door.

यदा रथ्यायामपि गन्तुं न शक्नोति तदा 'साहीए' खड्किकायां गत्वा व्युत्सृजति, यदा

खडकिकायां गन्तुं न समर्थस्तदा 'पुरोहडे' अग्रद्वारे व्युत्सृजेत्—

—OND., (*Gāthā* 622), leaf 198. cf. Pkt. खडकी; Guj. खडकी; Hindi खिडकी 'a window'. Vide खडिका.

खडिका f. same as खडकिका.

खडिकाया बहिः प्रक्षिप्य दास्याऽभिहितोऽसौ—

—AHH., p. 49.

खरण्डित adj. besmeared.

लाक्षारसखरण्डितं सरटं घटे प्रक्षिप्य तस्मिन् घटे पुरीषोन्मार्गं कारितवान्—

—NM., p. 152, line 9. cf. Guj. खरडायेल.

खल(क) n. a barn-yard, a thrashing floor.

खलं—धान्यमेलनादिस्थंडिलम्—

—KSV., p. 104;

खलं—धान्यमलपवनादिस्थंडिलम्—

—KK., p. 112,

[खित्त वा, धरे वा, अगणे वा.....]—क्षेत्रे धान्यनिष्पत्तिरधानं तत्र वा, (खले वा) खलं धान्यतुल्यपृथक्करणस्थानं तत्र वा, (धरे वा) गृहे वा, (अगणे) अङ्गणं गृहाग्रभागस्तत्र वा..

—KS., p. 325;

योऽर्था 'नेदि' ति मेष्टी—खलकमध्यवर्तिनी रथूणा रथ्या नियमिता गोपक्षिपत्न्यं गाहयति तद्व्यमालम्ब्य सकलनेगममण्डलं करणीयार्थान् धान्यमिव विवेचयति स मेष्टी—

—BS., *Sat.* 18, *Udd.* 2. cf. Guj. खड्ड.

खादिका f. a ditch.

"उत्सूलम्" ति खादिका—

—UN., *Adh.* 9, leaf 148. cf. Pkt. खाह; Guj. खाई.

खाल m., f. a drain, a gutter.

[गार्मायद्धमणेषु वा]—ग्रामजलनिर्गमाः, खाला इति प्रसिद्धाः—

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 4, p. 84;

'खालयनिद्धमणादिति' खालं गृहान् सलिलं येन निर्गच्छति ।—

—KSV., p. 134;

ग्रामनिर्द्धमनानि ग्रामजलनिर्गमाः, खालमिति प्रसिद्धाः ।—

—*Ibid.*, p. 75;

ग्रामनिर्द्धमनानि—ग्रामजलनिर्गमरूपाणि खालमिति प्रसिद्धानि—

—KD., p. 62;

निद्धमणं खालं—

—*Ibid.*, *Paryuṣaṇā-samācāri*, p. 1;

निद्धमणं खालं येन गृहान्जलं निर्गच्छति—

—KK., p. 175;

ग्रामनिर्द्धमनानि—ग्रामजलनिर्गमाः खालमिति प्रसिद्धाः । --

—KK., p. 73;

ग्रामसम्बन्धीनि निर्धमनानि जलनिर्गमाः 'खाल' इति प्रसिद्धास्तेषु—

—KS., p. 213. cf. Deśi खाल; Guj. खाल f.

खुंखुणक n. a small tinkling ball, a cymbal.

अदु अत्रणि अलंकारं, कुकुययं मे पयच्छाहि ॥ ७ ॥

—'कुकुययं'ति खुंखुणकं 'मे' मम प्रयच्छ—

—SKS., Adh. 4, Udd. 2, Sūtra 7, leaf 117. cf. Guj. खणखणिबु.

खुटिका f. a bar.

ततो ब्रूतकारा रक्तपटवेण सुवर्णखुटिका गृहीत्वा भिक्षुसकाशं गता वदन्ति च,.....

एताः सुवर्णखोटिका युष्मत्पार्श्वे स्वास्यन्ति—

—NM., p. 157, ll. 10-11, 12-14. cf. Mar. सुवर्णखोटी 'a gold-bar', Vide खोटिका.

खुम्पक m. a head-ornament or crest made of flowers.

सूर्य—तालपत्रसूच्यादि खुम्पकः । कुडसीसग पलासपत्रमयं खुम्पकम् ।

—JKCV., p. 50, lines 5-6. [The vocable is fairly common in Old Guj; vide e.g. *Prācīna Phāgu-Sangraha*, l. 10:

चंपयकेतकिब्राह्मकुसुम

सिरि पुंष भरेद,

अतिब्राह्म उ मुकमाल चीग

पहिरणि पहिरेड.

Also *Vaśantavilāsa* (c. V.S. 1400 - 1344 A.D.), verse 53:

पुंष भरी सिरि केतकि

सेत किया मिणगा ।

मिरीय ते मंडन मारीग

नारीय स्नु भग्नार ॥]

cf. mod. Guj. मूप.

✓खेद to till, to cultivate.

नतः खेटय खेटय मन्त्रं सैनमेयाविति....पुराणीयि नामारटन्नी दृष्ट्वा मन्त्रेणा मन्त्रं मन्दं खेटयामास ।—

—NM., p. 154, ll. 10-12. cf. Guj. खेड.

खेटन n. tillage, cultivation.

तत्र निहितमात्राणां—उत्तमात्राणा न तु लौकिकप्रसिद्धभूमिखेटनप्रभृतिकर्मसापेक्षाणां....

शास्त्रादीनां निष्पादकम्—

—JPS, *Vakṣuskāra* 3, leaf 243. cf. Guj. खेडण.

खोटिका f. same as खुटिका.

ततो ब्रूतकारा रक्तपटवेण सुवर्णखुटिका गृहीत्वा भिक्षुसकाशं गता वदन्ति च,.....

एताः सुवर्णखोटिका युष्मत्पार्श्वे स्वास्यन्ति—

—NM., p. 157, ll. 10-11, 12-14. cf. Mar. सुवर्णखोटी 'a gold-bar'.

- खोल** n. dregs (of wine).
 ' खोलं ' मयाधःकर्मः—
 —AS., *Sūtra* 269, p. 318, l. 8. cf. Dcśi खोल; Guj. खोल n. 'oilcake', lit.: 'dregs of oil'.
- खोला** f. gilding, plating.
 कचण-कोसी पविट्ट दंतार्ण कंचणमणिरयणभूसिआण.....गयाणं अट्टसावं.....—
 काञ्चनकोशी-सुवर्णखोला तरयां प्रविष्टाः अर्थाद् विधानाया येषां ते तथा तेषां
 —JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 2-3, leaf 265. cf. Guj. खोल f.
- गडु** m. a boil.
 ' अरतिः ' बातादिजनितक्षितोद्देगः ' गेडे ' गडुः—
 —UN., leaf 163. cf. Guj. गडे, गड, गांड.
- गडुरिका** f. [1] a ewe.
 गडुरिकायूप्रवाहप्रवृत्तं गतानुगतिकन्यायानुसारिणं शङ्कया वा अपधावन्तं दृष्ट्वा—
 —AS., p 203, ll. 18-19. cf. Dcśi गडुरिका, गडुरेया; Guj. गाढर, गाडरी.
 [2] a disease in vegetables which creates holes in the leaves.
 तथा अच्छिद्राणि पत्राणि येषां ते अच्छिद्रपत्राः, किमुक्तं भवति?— न तेषां पत्रेषु
 वातदोषतः कालदोषतो वा गडुरिकादिरीतिरूपजातो येन तेषु पत्रेषु छिद्राण्यभविष्यन्ति-
 च्छिद्रपत्राः—
 —RPM., *Sūtra* 3, leaf 6;
 ' अणइहपत्ता ' न विद्यते इतिः—गडुरिकादिरूपा येषां तान्यनीतानि पत्राणि येषां न
 अतीतपत्राः—
 —*Ibid.*, leaf 6;
 न तेषां पत्रेषु वातदोषतः कालदोषतो वा गडुरिकादिरीतिरूपजायते—
 —JPS., leaf 29,
 ' अणीइपत्ता ' इति न विद्यते इतिः—गडुरिकादिरूपा येषु तान्यनीतीनि—
 —*Ibid.*, leaf 29.
- गड्डी** f. a cart, a carriage.
 अहवा सिक्किादियं जाणं भण्णति, अणुरंगा गड्डी—
 —NC., *Bhāṣyagāthā* 3002, part III, p. 606. cf. Guj., Hindi, Mar. गाडी.
- गण्डपाणिका** f. a small reed basket, which can easily be held in hand.
 ' गंडपाणियाए ' ति ' गण्डपाणिका ' वंशमयभाजनविशेष एव यो गण्डेन हस्तेन गृह्यते,
 ब्रह्मातो लघुतरः—
 —BSA., *Sat.* 7, *Udd.* 7. *Vide* ब्रह्मा.
- गण्डिका** f. a (peeled) piece (of sugar-cane).
 ' उच्छुमेरं ' ति अपनीतत्वगिह्नुगण्डिका—

—AS., *Sūtra* II. 1.8.270, p. 318, line 13. *cf.* Deśī गंडरी; Guj., Mar. गंडरी.

गुड[ल]पर्पटिका f. a kind of sweet-meat or pastry made of molasses, wheat-flour and clarified butter; a treacle-cake.

भक्ष्याणि—खण्डखाद्यानि गुडलावणिका—गुडपर्पटिका लोकप्रसिद्धा गुडधाना वा—
—SSA., *Adh.* 3, leaf 118;

भक्ष्याणि—खण्डखाद्यानि गुडलावणिका लोकप्रसिद्धा गुडपर्पटिका गुडधाना वा—
—SPM., leaf 293;

‘गुडलावणिय’नि गुडपर्पटिका लोकप्रसिद्धा गुडधाना वा—

—PVA., 2.5, leaf 163. *cf.* Guj. गोळवापडी. *l’ule* पर्पटि.

गुन्द n. gum.

वृक्षस्थे गुन्दादि राणादनादि वा साक्षिके कण्डे मुखे प्रक्षिपतः सञ्चितप्रतिबद्धाहारः ॥२॥

—SPD., p. 72. *cf.* Guj. गुद, गुदर, Hindi गोद.

गृहकोकिला f. a type of insect.

हलिका गृहकोकिला ब्राह्मणी वा—

—KD., *Paryuṣaṇa-samācāri* p. 17. *Vide* ब्राह्मणी, हलिका. *cf.* Guj. गरकूकटी.

गोखलक m. a niche.

एषो कञ्चते उरपाल्मो । सो गोखलण कंठाओ फलोर्त्तीओ न वारेड । ततो नाओ अगदारेण निष्पिडिउमाउत्ता ।अक्षग्गमनिका—निर्यूहो गवात्रः । गोखलक इत्यर्थः । आदिशब्दात्तद्व्ययनधाविधप्रदेशपरिग्रहः । तेन निर्यूह्यादिना प्रत्येकमे अवार्णं, न वार्णं कृतवान् ।

—VM., part III, p. 63. *cf.* Guj. गोखलं गोन्.

गोकणा f. a sling.

यन्त्रप्रस्तारश्च—गोकणादितावाणाः—

—PVA., 1.3, leaf 43;

गोकणा—चर्मद्वरकमयी प्रसिद्धा, तथा धनुःपट्टनिर्माया लेटुकमुपले वा यन् प्रक्षिपति एषोऽभिधात उच्यते ॥

—BKK., Vol. V, p. 1314. *cf.* Guj. गोकण f.; Hindi गोकन.

गोल्हाफल n. a kind of vegetable, *Cephalandra indica*.

विम्बफलं—गोल्हाफलम्—

—JM., *Pratipatti* 3, *Sūtra* 147, leaf 272;

विम्बफलं—पक्वगोल्हाफलं, तयोः सञ्जिओ रक्तयोष्णतमभ्यनया अधरोष्ठः—

—JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 2, leaf 112., *cf.* Deśī गोल्हा; Guj. बोर्हु.

बद्धशाला f. a wretched dwelling place without windows.

यदि बाऽनगारा इति—पार्श्वनाथतीर्थप्रव्रजिता गच्छन्वासिन एव शीतार्द्रता निवानमेयन्ति—

बद्धशालादिका बसतीर्वालायनादिरहिताः प्रार्थयन्ति ।

—As., p. 281, ll. 3-4 ;

तत्र रुन्दा नाम—विस्तीर्णा चक्षुःशालादिरित्यर्थः तस्यां 'पुष्पावकीर्णाः' पुष्पप्रकरवदव-
कीर्णाः—अनियतक्रमा अवयवाथयं स्वपन्ति येन सागारिकाणामवकाशो न भवति ।

—BKK., Vol. IV, p. 1186 ;

शाला च सा 'महती' विस्तीर्णा चक्षुःशालेत्यर्थः—

—*Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 1317. cf. Deśi वंषशाला ; Guj. वंषोल्लियु.

वाण m. an oil-mill.

'वाणे'—तिलपीडनयंत्रे—

—PNM., *Pindanikṣepa, Vātakāya*, p. 17. cf. Deśi वाण ; Guj. वाणी.

घुर्चुरक m. a cutting instrument.

प्रस्थि—द्रव्यसम्बन्धिने भिन्दन्ति—घुर्चुरकद्विकर्तिकादिना विदारयन्तीति प्रस्थिमेदास्तान्—

—UA., IX.28, leaf 312 ;

प्रस्थिभेदाः ये घुर्चुरकद्विकर्तिकादिना प्रस्थि भिन्दन्ति ।

—UN., IX. 28, leaf 149.

घृतेल्लिका f. a kind of red-coloured insect.

उण्होल नि—घृतेल्लिकाः अतितीक्ष्णतुण्डाः—

—KD., p. 94. cf. Pkt. घवमिहिया ; Guj. घीमेल.

घोलित adj. mingled.

मयी—तदेव कज्जलं ताम्रभाजनादिषु सामग्रीविशेषेण घोलितं, मसीगुलिका—घोलित-
कज्जलगुलिका—

—RPM., *Sūtra* 15, leaf 32. cf. Guj. वोलेल.

चकल m. [1] a circular or square seat made of leather or cotton or knitted grass.

'मसूरकं' नाम चर्मकृतं चकलकृतं वा वृक्षं वृक्षादिपूर्णं चकल-गदिकादि ।

—BKK., Vol. IV, p. 1055. cf. Deśi चकल ; Guj. चाकले.

[2] a toy-sparrow for decoration.

तद्यथा—तपनीयमयाः चकलला रजतमयाः सिंहास्तैरुपशोभितम्—

—RPM., *Sūtra* 15, leaf 37. cf. Guj. चकले-चकली.

चकल्लिका f. a type of circular eatable prepared out of gram-flour fried in oil or clarified butter.

तत्र यत् निर्भेदादिकं विदार्यै ऊर्ध्वकालिल्लाः पेश्यः कृतं तद् ऋजुकमिषं, यत् पुनस्तिर्यगे

बुद्ध्यः कतल्लिकाः कृतं तत् चकल्लिकामिषम्—

—BKK., Vol. II, p. 332. cf. Mar. चकली.

चञ्चुद्धारक n. a hole in the block of wood on which a door turns,

अथ द्वारस्य पिधानं कुर्वन्ति तदापि चञ्चुल्लेखः । 'यन्त्रे' चञ्चुद्धारकाख्ये सञ्चारिमाना-
मुद्देहिकादीनां असप्राणिनां घातो भवतीति तन्निष्पन्नं प्रायश्चित्तम् ।—

—BKK., Vol. IV, p. 940. [This appears to be an onomatopoeic word denoting the sound चुचु produced when a door turns on its hinges.]

चटन-विचटन n. coming up and going down.

स्कन्दन्ति—शुष्यन्ति धीयन्ते च—पोष्यन्ते च पुद्गलानां विचटनेन चटनेन चेति स्कन्धाः
—US., *Adh.* 36, p. 673. *cf.* Guj. चङ्कुं-कतरु.

चटिका f. a hen-sparrow.

सम्प्रति परिपूर्णद्वान्तो भाव्यते—परिपूर्णको नाम घृतक्षीरगालनक मृगहाभिधचटिका-
कुलाल्यो वा, तेन ह्यासीर्यो घृतं गालयन्ति—
—NM., p. 57, ll. 21-22. *cf.* Old Guj. चिटु 'a cock-sparrow', *vide*
'मधुकर चिटु नेद नुल मांजार, नर नामि न दिडं पइसार'
—line 660 of *Uṣāharana* of Virasimha (15th cent. A.D.); also mod.
Guj. चिडी; Hindi चीहिया.

चट्टक m. a large wooden spoon.

चुलुङ्खलिया डोएदव्ही छूटे थ मीसगं पूई ।
डाए लोणे हिगू संकामण फोडणे धूमे ॥ २५० ॥
—'चुली' प्रतीता, 'उरवा' 'स्थाली',
'डोयः' 'वृहदारुदस्तकः' महौश्चट्टक इत्यर्थः,
'दर्वा' 'लघीयान् दारुहस्तकः'
'ढायं' 'शार्कं लवणं हिङ्गु च प्रतीते'
'धूमः' 'हिङ्गवादिसत्को वधारः.....'
... तथा 'डोए' इति देशे समुदायशब्दोपचारान् डोय इत्युक्ते डोयस्याग्रभागे पृथक्ते ।...
—PNM., p. 84. *cf.* Deśi चट्टक; Guj. चाटवो.
In Old Guj. The word is prevalent in the forms चाटवउ and चाटुउ;
vide e.g. :
मरण तणइ भयि भोजन वार
वांस चाटवउ [*v.l.* चाटुउ, चाट्टवा, चाट्टउ, चाट्ट] धरइ सुआर ।
पहिल राड हूं अवगण्यउ, माहरउ बंधव केसव हण्यउ ॥ २५ ॥
—*Kānuḍadeprabandha* of Padmanābha (1456 A.D.), verse 25.

चप्पडक m. a wooden clasp.

चप्पडकानां—काष्ठयन्त्रविशेषाणां सन्धिषु—जानुकूर्परदिपु बन्धनं चर्पटकसन्धिवबन्धनम्
—PVA., (1.3), leaf 57. *cf.* Guj. चापडो; Mar. चपडा.

चप्पुटिका f. a snap of the fingers accompanying an enchantment or charm.

वितलानि पडुंजेति—वितलानि चिटिका चप्पुटिकादीनि प्रयुज्यन्ते—
—VM., *Udd.* 7, *Bhāṣyagāthā* 233, p. 41. *cf.* Guj. चपटी.

चवल m. a kind of pulse, *Vigna catiāng*.

चणक-चवलादिकं द्विदलं—

—BKK., Vol. II. p. 504; KK., p. 74. cf. Guj. चोळा.

चहिय adj. loved.

‘चहिय’ति विगलद्बहलानन्दाश्रुदृष्टिभिः सहर्षं निरीक्षिताः—

—AD., *Sūtra* 42, leaf 37^b, the text of the *Sūtra* being तेलोक्तचहिय-
महिय-पूषहि, leaf 37^a. cf. Pkt. √चाह; Guj. √चाह ‘to love’, चाहुं—
चाहेतुं ‘loved’.

चाकचिचय n. lustre, brightness.

स च मुद्रशैलः पूर्वं धूलीधूसरशरीरत्वात् मन्दं मन्दमकाशिष्ट, सम्प्रति तु तस्यापि धूत्रपनय-
नादधिकतरमवभासमानो वर्तते, ततः स चाकचिचयमादधानो हसन्निव नादरपुष्करावर्तौ
समताच्छन्तावेवमभाषिष्ट—

—NM., p. 55, ll. 24-26. cf. Guj. चाकचचय.

चारि[री] f. green grass, food.

शरदि हि प्रचुरचारिप्राणतया मक्षिकाद्युपद्रवरहिततया च गोवृषो मदोद्रेकादुच्छृङ्खलः
पर्यटतीति—

—BKK., Vol. II, p. 400;

मुखमूले यदि वसतिः तदा ‘चारी’ भोजनसम्पत्तिः प्रशन्ता ।

—*Ibid.*, p. 442. cf. Guj. चार f., चारो; Hindī चारा.

चिर्भट n. a musk-melon.

‘वालकच्छली’—वालकं चिर्भटम्—

—ADA., *Sūtra* 3, leaf 6. cf. Skt. चिर्भटि; Pkt. चिन्मट, Guj. चीमट्ट, Vide
चिर्भटिका.

चिर्भटिका f. same as चिर्भट.

सर्वाऽपि तव चिर्भटिका भक्षयामि—

—NM., p. 149, lines 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25. cf. Guj. चीमट्टी.

चिह्नी f. name of a green vegetable, *Chinopodium speciosum*.

हरितानि तन्दुलीयक...चिह्नीपालक्यासीनि—

—AS., p. 51, lines 26-27. cf. Guj., Mar. चील.

चीडा m. a type of herb with fragrant bulbous roots.

कुन्दरुष्कं चीडामिधानो गन्धद्रव्यविशेषः—

—KD, p. 38. [According to Śrī Bāpālāla G. Vaidya, a well-known
Botanist and Principal, Occhavalāla Nāzara Āyurveda Mahāvidyā-
laya, Surat, this is a type of herb belonging to the genus *Musta* in
Indian Pharmacopoeia, known in Guj. as चीडानी मोष.]

चीन adj. short (nose), lit.: 'like a Chinese'.

'चीनचिपिडनासिर्ध' ति चीना-इत्था चिपिडा च—निम्ना नासिका यस्य तत्तथा—
—JDA., p. 137.

चीनचोल n. a China cloth, China silk,

जिनस्य मस्तके श्वेतच्छत्रमिव युक्ते चन्द्रकिरणपूरमिव कण्ठे हारमिव सर्वशरीरे चीनचोळ-
मिव स्नानजले शुश्रूमे—

—KKS., *Kṣāna* 5, p. 100.

चुल्लगकर m. 'a tax on hearth', i.e. a tax levied on a family-unit having its own separate cooking arrangement.

चुल्लगो—भोजनं तदेव करः चुल्लगकरः स व्याये ग्रामे पञ्चकुलादीनविकृत्य प्रसिद्ध एव—
—AM., p. 596.

चुली f. a small fire-place or hearth.

चुल्लवा पाकार्यमारोपितम्—

—VM., *Udd.* 6, p. 9;

पूर्वं चुल्लवामारोपिते समीहिते वा—

—*Ibid.*, p. 9;

खण्डनी पेषणी चुली जलकुम्भः प्रमाञ्जनी ।

पञ्च श्रुता ग्रहस्थस्य बध्यते यास्तु बाहयन् ॥ १ ॥

—SPR., p. 122;

किञ्च—स मिश्रयन्पुनरेवभूतं स्थण्डिलं जानीयान्, तद्यथा... 'मानुषरन्ध्रनानि चुल्लया-
दीनि तथा महिष्यादीनुद्दिश्य यत्र किञ्चिन् किञ्चनं ते वा यत्र स्थाप्यन्ते तत्र लोकयिषुद्ध-
प्रवचनोपघातादिभयाभोचारादि कुर्यादिति—

—AS., p. 378, ll. 21-22;

सङ्ग्रहस्तु स्पष्ट एव, केचित् शुच्यचुल्लवामारोपितं नान्वायुक्तं, अन्ये तु यत्समीहितं
तत्पूर्वायुक्तं—

—KK., p. 189. cf. Guj. चूल, चुल्लिका, चूलि.

चुल्हक m. a fire place, a hearth.

अपिहितस्य प्रदीपचुल्हकादेवार्णे चुल्हकोपरि चन्द्रोदयाप्रदानार्थं प्रमादावरणम् ।

—SPR., p. 133. cf. Guj. चूले; Hindi चुल्हा.

चोष्क m. a gram, a chick-pea.

KK., p. 74. cf. Guj. चणे.

चोप्पड adj. greasy.

'निस्तुप्या' अचोप्पडा अवधारिता वा ॥

—BKK., Vol. II, p. 504. [This word is of Dravidian origin.] cf.
PKt. चोप्पड 'to smear with'; Guj. चोपड्डे; Hindi चुपडा.

च्छटक m. sprinkling, drizzling; a drop.

‘आवर्षणम्’ उदकेन च्छटकप्रदानम्—

—BKK., Vol. II, p. 495. cf. Deśī छट; Guj. छांट, छांटे, Hindi छोटा.

छगण n. cow-dung.

‘उपलेन’ छगणमृत्तिकाया भूमिकाया लेपनम्—

—BKK., Vol. II, p. 495. cf. Guj. छाण.

छ[च्छ]टित adj. husked, separated from the husks.

बलवत्या च्छटितानां निःशेषतृथापनयनात् तन्दुलानां ‘आढकम्’—

—BBK., Vol. II, p. 375;

‘अच्छतिच्छडियतेन्दुलनहसंदृष्टपट्टिपुष्पा इव चिद्वृत्ति’—‘अच्छा’ निर्मला; शुद्धाः स्फटिक-
वत् चिच्छटिताः—श्रीन् बारान् छटिताः अत एव ‘नखसन्दष्टाः’ नखाः नखिकाः
सन्दष्टा मुसलादिभिः छटिता येषां ते तथा मुखादिदर्शानां कान्तस्य परनिपातः अच्छै-
विच्छटितैः शालितपट्टलैर्नखसन्दष्टैः परिपूर्णा—

—RPM., (*Sūtra* 28), leaf 70;

चिच्छटिताः—श्रीन् बारान् छटिताः—निस्सबचिताः

—JPS., (*Vakṣaskāra* 1), leaf 57. cf. Deśī छडिय; Guj. छडेल.

✓छर्त् to abandon, to leave off.

नानाविधं क्रियाणकं सर्वं छर्दयित्वा परित्यज्य—

—VM., part IV, subpart i, p. 51. cf. Pkt. छड्ड, छड; Guj. छांड़ुं; Hindi छाड़ना.

छही f. bark.

सन्धः-घुटं लक्-छही—

—RPM., (*Sūtra* 3), leaf 5;

चम्पकछही—सुवर्णचम्पकत्वक्—

—JPS., leaf 34. cf. Guj. छाल f.; Hindi छिल्का.

छार f. ? ashes.

द्रव्यस्थापना तुण्डगलछारमलकादीनां परिभोगः—

—KS., p. 528. cf. Pkt., Guj. छार m., f.; Hindi छार.

छिण्डिका f. a narrow path, an alley.

तत्रापि ‘वेरो’ द्वारकुक्ष्यादिलक्षणे प्रदेशे च तत्र तत्रानेकास्त्रिण्डिका भवन्ति ।

यथा नगरस्य वेरोषु प्रदेशेषु च छिण्डिका भवन्ति तथाऽनुयोगस्यापि चतुर्णां
द्वाराणामवान्तरभेदाः ।

—BKM., p. 78. cf. Deśī छेडी, छिडिआ; छौडी; Guj. छौडी.

छिप m. a cloth-printer.

नन्तिक्काः छिपास्तच्छालासमीपे वा—

—VM., Udd. 10, p. 66. cf. Deśī छिपय; Guj. छीपो. Vide छिम्पक.

छिम्पक m. same as छिप.

तथा — अन्तकुलाणि-वस्तुछिम्पकादीनां प्रान्तकुलानि—

—SA., (*Adh.* 8), leaf 420 ;

जुगुप्सितं-छिम्पकादि तच्च, हिसागं-नौकरिकादिग्रहं तच्च मामाकं चोक्तं—

—OND. (*Gāthā* 437), leaf 156 ;

‘प्रतिकुष्टं’ छिम्पकादिग्रहं सूक्तोपेतं ग्रहं वा—

—*Ibid.* (*Gāthā* 440), leaf 157 ;

‘जुगुप्सितेषु’ छिम्पकादिषु यदि पिण्डग्रहण करोति ततो दुर्लभा बोधि करोतीति—

—*Ibid.* (*Gāthā* 441), leaf 157. cf. Deśi छिम्प; Guj. छिपो.

छिहरक n. a pool.

राजतुरङ्गमेन कुप्रचिन्त खिलप्रदेशे प्रश्रवणमकारि, तच्च तत्प्रदेशं पृथिव्याः स्थिरत्वेन बद्ध-
छिहरकं चिरेणाप्यशुक्लं व्यावर्तमानो राजा तथैव व्यवस्थितमद्राक्षीत—

—AMH., leaf 50, lines 3-4. cf. Deśi, Guj. छिहर. Vide a Gujarātī apophthegm:

‘हंसा सरवर ना तजो,

जो जळ खारो होय ;

छिहर छिहर हीडता,

भला न कहेस कोय.’

छिवाडि f. a bean.

‘छिवाडि’ति मुद्रादेः फलि, तामेव विशिनष्टि—

—AS., p. 293, ll. 24-25, p. 294, l. 3. Vide फलि.

छुह adj. freed.

नष्टः पिशाचो न कापि दृष्ट इति मुक्ताः स्म च्छुहा वयं शेषस्य तद्भवेपणाशयासम्य—

—VM, part IV, sub-part II, p. 57. cf. Pkt. छुह, Guj. छुह; Hindi छूरा.

✓छुत्

to touch.

फासेमोति स्पृशामः आसेवनाद्वारेण छुपामः,स्पृशद्विरामेवनाद्वारेण च्छुपद्भिः—

—PY., p. 60. cf. Old and mod. Guj. ✓छन exactly in this sense.

जम्पान n. a type of litter

शिविका-पुरुषसहस्रवाहनीयः कूटाकारशिसराच्छादितो जम्पानविशेषः—

—PVA., *Adh.* 2, leaf 13 ;

सुप्यं—गोष्ठदेशप्रसिद्धो द्विहस्तप्रमाणो वेदिकोपशोभितो जम्पानविशेष एव—

—*Ibid.*, leaf 13 ;

सुम्पानि—गोष्ठविषयप्रसिद्धानि द्विहस्तप्रमाणानि वेदिकोपशोभितानि जम्पानानि, शिविकाः

—कूटाकारेणाच्छादिताः जम्पानविशेषाः—

—RPM. (*Sūtra* 3), leaf 7 ;

‘जुगं’ति गोष्ठविषयप्रसिद्धं जम्पानं द्विहस्तप्रमाणं वेदिकोपशोभितम्—

—BSA., Vol. II, *Sat.* 3, *Udd.* 4, p. 88;

‘सीअ’ति शिबिकाकृटाकाराच्छादितो जम्पानविशेषः—

—*Ibid.*, p. 88;

‘संदमाणिअ’ति पुरुषप्रमाणोऽऽयामो जम्पानविशेषः—

—*Ibid.*, p. 88. *cf.* Pkt. संपण; Guj., Hindi संपान.

जङ्ग m. a rope-dancer, an acrobat.

(नङ्गनङ्गाजङ्ग.....)—नाटककारकाः नर्तका ये स्वयं नृत्यन्ति जङ्गा-दोरखेलकाः

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 5, p. 102. *Vide* दोरखेलक, बरत्राखेलक.

जासू n. the China rose.

(जासुअकुमुमरासि)—जपापुष्पस्य ‘जासूद’ इति लोकप्रसिद्धस्य यो राशिः समूहः

—KS., p. 170. *cf.* Pkt. जासुमण; Guj. जासूद, जासु; Mar. जासूद.

जीन n. a saddle.

नवतानि-जीनानि—

—JDA., p. 232. *cf.* Persian *jīn*; Pkt. जीण; Guj., Hindi. Mar. जीन.

Vide थिहि, पत्थान.

जुवार m. ? a kind of grain, *Sorghum vulgare*.

युगंधती-जुवार ।—

—KK., p. 74. *cf.* Deśi जुआरि, जोवारि; Guj. जुवार, जार; Hindi ज्वार, ज्वारी.

जेमनवार m. a feast, a group-dinner.

‘संखडि’ व जनसङ्कुलजेमनवारलक्षण—

—KD., leaf 11. *cf.* Guj. जमणवार.

जोटन n. joining.

‘अंजलियंगहेण’—हस्तजोटनेन—

—RPM., leaf 128. *cf.* Pkt. verb जोड; Guj. जोडाण; Hindi verb जोड़ना;

Mar. verb जोड़णे.

झगडुक m. a quarrel, a dispute.

“हस्ते नरकपाले ते, मक्षिरामांसभक्षिणि ।

भानुः पृच्छति मातङ्गि !, किं तोयं दक्षिणे करे ? ॥ १ ॥”

चाण्डाली प्राह—

“मित्रद्रोही कृतप्रक्ष, स्तेयी विश्वासघातकः ।

कदाचिच्चलितो मार्गे, तेनेयं क्षिप्यते छटा ॥ २ ॥

कूटसाक्षी गृथावाधी, पक्षपाती झगडुके ।

कदाचिच्चलितो मार्गे, तेनेयं क्षिप्यते छटा ॥ ३ ॥”

—SPR., p. 61. *cf.* Deśi ज(-ह)-गड; Guj. झगडे; Hindi झगड़ा; Mar. झगडा.

झलरि[री] f. a cymbal.

‘झलरि’ति वल्ग्याऽऽकारो वाद्यविशेषः—

—BSA., Vol. II, (*Śat.* 5, *Udd.* 4), p. 171;

डक्का झलरी प्रतीना—

—KS., p. 252;

ज्योतिष्कदेवानां झलरीसंस्थानसंस्थितः [अवधिः], झलरी—वर्मावनदविस्तीर्णवल्ग्याकारा
भातोद्यविशेषरूपा देशविशेषप्रसिद्धा—

—NM., p. 88, l. 10;

तत्प्राकारादीनां च व्याख्यानमिदं भाष्यकृदाह....चम्पावणद्विविधजनवलयस्वा य
झलरिया—

—NM., p. 89, line 1. cf. Guj. झलरी, झालरी, झालर; Hindi, Mar. झालर.

झुम्बनक n. a kind of dangling ornament.

प्रालम्बो—झुम्बनकम्—

—VA. (*Śrūta.* 1, *Adh.* 6), leaf 70; AuA. (*Sūtra* 26), leaf 55;

प्रालम्बे—झुम्बनकम्—

—JPS., (*Vakṣashkāra* 2), leaf 106;

BSA., *Śat.* 9, *Udd.* 33;

तथा प्रालम्बो—झुम्बनकं लम्बमानो येषां ते तथा—

—RPM (*Sūtra* 54), leaf 122. cf. Guj. झूमणं.

झोलिका f. a type of litter.

‘निक्षि’ति पुरुषद्वयोक्तिसा झोलिका—

—SKS, *Śrūta.* 2, *Adh.* 2, leaf 330 cf. Deśi झोलिका; Guj., Mar. झोली;
Hindi झोली. *Vide* पोलिका

टक्का [का]रा f. a stroke of fingers on the head, especially on a bald head.

एगो खल्लाडो तंबोळवाणियउ पणो विकिणड, सो एकेण चारभटपोटेण पळे मरिगतो—अरे
खल्लाडवाणिया पळे देहि। तेण सकसाएण न दिक्षा। अजे मणति थोवा दिक्षा। ततो तेण
रुसिएण चारभटपोटेण खल्लाडे शिरे खडुगा दिक्षा, टक्करा दिजेति वुत्तं भवति—

—VM., part II, p. 52;

एकेन चारभटपोलेन तांथुलिकस्य शिरसि खल्वाटे खडुका टक्करा दत्ता, ततस्तेन वणिजा
सत्कार्यं तस्मै वज्रयुगलं दत्तं, द्वितीयेन खल्वाटेन व्यपरोषितो मारितः—

—Ibid., p. 52. cf. Guj. टकोरी, टकोरो. [In medieval Guj. टक्कर, which is related to टक्कर, also meant ‘a bald person’;
cf. ‘टेडी पाच टाकरने ठाम’—*Chappā* of Akho (17th Cent. A.D.).]

टङ्कणक्षार m. acid borax, soda biborate.

टङ्कणक्षारमावृक्षारादेर्वाग्निबहुजीवविनाशनिमित्तत्वाच्च महानेव दोषः ।

—SPR., p. 122. cf. Guj. टंकणक्षार.

टप्पर adj. deformed (ears).

‘आलीनप्रमाणयुक्तश्रवणा’ आलीनौ न तु टप्परौ प्रमाणयुक्तौ श्रवणौ—कर्णौ येषां ते आलीनप्रमाणयुक्तश्रवणाः—

—JM., *Pratipatti* 3, *Sūtra* 147, leaf 272 ;

आलीनौ-मस्तकभित्तौ किञ्चिद्विहस्यौ न तु टप्परौ प्रमाणयुक्तौ—सप्रमाणोपेतौ श्रवणौ—

—JPS., (*Vakṣaskāra* 2), leaf 113. cf. Old Guj. टापर. Vide *Varṇaka-samuccaya*, part I (*Prācina Gurjara Granthamālā*, no. 4), p. 134, l. 7: ‘पग छापरो, कान टापरो’, also p. 159. l. 23: ‘छापरा पग, टापरा कान’.

दिन्दुरक n. Name of a vegetable, *Cocceinia Indica*.

आभ्यन्तरपुटादिसहितबीजमयं दाडिमदिन्दुरकादि तन्नाभक्ष्यनवा व्यवहरन्ति १५—

—SPR., p. 118. cf. Guj. टीरोह.

टोकर m. a piece, a strip.

तस्य चापवरकस्य द्वारे बहिः कुदण्डेन वंशटोकरादिना बध्यते, न येन निर्गत्यापगच्छति —VM., part IV, sub-part i, p. 31. cf. Guj. टुकडे; Hindi टुकड़ा; Kannaḍa तुकडि; Mar. टुकडा, तुकडा.

ठार m. dew.

अवदयायः—आकाशात् पतति, ठार इत्यर्थः १—

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 9, p. 227. cf. Guj. ठार.

ठिक्करिका f. a chip or fragment of an earthen pot.

ठिक्करिकाराशीनिव सुवर्णदीनारगुराशीन ॥ ६० ॥.....पश्यन्नुपस्यत या विसिष्मयामा-
सिवानेषः ॥ ६७ ॥

—SPR., pp. 47-48. cf. Deśi ठिक्करिआ; Guj. ठीकरी, ठीकरी. Vide ठिक्करी, ठीकरी.

ठिक्करी f. same as ठिक्करिका.

गौतमश्चिन्तयति.....कीलिकाहेतोः प्रासादपातनं सुवार्थं हारत्रोटनं ठिक्करीकृते काम-
कुम्भमण्डनं भस्मार्थं चन्दनदहनं कोऽपि मुखौ वाञ्छति—

—KKS . *Kṣaṇa* 6, p. 143. cf. Deśi ठिक्करिआ; Guj. ठीकरी, ठीकरी. Vide ठीकरी.

ठीकरी f. same as ठिक्करी.

कः काम[च ?]कलशं शस्यं स्फोटयेत् ठीकरीकृते ॥ ४७ ॥

—KD., p. 104; KK., p. 117. cf. Guj. ठीकरी, ठीकरी. Vide ठिक्करिका.

डगल n. a thick large piece.

द्रव्यस्थापना तृणडगलछारमलकादीनां परिभोगः —

—KSV., p. 136;

द्रव्यस्थापना —तृणडगलछारमलकादीनां परिभोगः सचिन्तादीनां च परिहारः । —

—KD., *Paryuṣaṇa-samācārī* p. 5 ;

लहुसाऽदिष्णं पुण सुदुर्मं अत्थ जत्थ पण्णाविती । तं जहा—तण-डगल-छार-मदग-लेव-

इतिरि-उगहण-विद्वान्मु लेव इतिरि-उगहणठणेषु सुताएसेण मासलहुं । तहाणि इह लहुसगा-दिणं चेव भण्णइ ।—

—JKC., *Gāthā* 9, p. 9, line 8;

तथा तृणङ्गलभस्ममल्लकपीठफलकशब्दासंस्तरकलेमादिवस्तुनि चारित्रेच्छुः सोपधिकः शिष्यश्च शय्यातरस्यापि ग्रहीतुं कल्पते, इति तृतीयः ॥ (३)—

—KS., p. 4;

तृण-ङ्गल-भस्म-मल्लक-पीठ-फलक-शय्या-संस्तरक-लेमादिवस्तुनां ग्रहणे सोपधिकशिष्यप्रवाजने चाऽऽशया कल्प्यत्वाच्छय्यातरो न भवति ।

—KK., p. 2. cf. Deśī डगल; Guj. डगळु.

डङ्गर m. a cudgel-holder.

लाकुटिकाः—डङ्गराः—

—BKK., Vol. IV, p. 1157. cf. Deśī डंगा and Guj. डंगोरे 'a cudgel'.

डह्रा f. a large basket.

‘गोफिलंजण’ति गोचरणार्थं महावंशमयभाजनविशेषेण, डह्रयेत्यर्थः—

—BSA., *Sat.* 7, *Udd.* 7. cf. Skt. डह्रक ; Deśī दह ; Guj. डाली f., डालुं n., डालो m. Vide गण्डपाणिका.

डाल f., n. a branch.

जिणवयणमणुमयमई जं..... ।

अग्गी व वायसहिओ समूलडालं डहड कम्मं ॥९९॥ ॥ २३२ ॥

Sanskrit *Chāyā*—

जिनवचनानुगतमतिर्या..... ।

अग्निरिव वायुसहितः समूलशाखं दहति कम्मं (वृक्षम्) ॥ ९९ ॥

—PD., 3 *Mahāpratyāḥkhyāna-prakīrṇakam*, p. 17;

जिणवयणमणुमयमई..... ।

अग्गी व वायसहिओ समूलडालं डहड कम्मं ॥ २९० ॥ ॥ १५२५ ॥

Sanskrit *Chāyā*—

जिनवचनानुगतमतिः..... ।

वानसहितः अग्निरिव समूलडालं कम्मं दहति ॥ २९० ॥

—*Ibid.*, 10 *Marāṇavibhakti-prakīrṇakam*, p. 115. cf. Deśī डाल, डाली; Guj. डाल, डाली, Hindī डगाली.

डिकरिका f. a daughter.

अपि च स मिश्रुः छुल्लिका ‘दारिका’ डिकरिकां मण्डितालङ्कृतां ‘मिबुज्जयाणि’ति अद्या-

दिना नीयमानां, तथैकं पुरुषं वधाय नीयमानं प्रेक्ष्याहमत्र किञ्चिच्छ्रोव्यामीति भवणार्थं तत्र न गच्छेदिति ॥

—AS., p. 381, ll. 5-6. cf. Guj. दीकरी.

- हुङ्ग** n. a multitude of slabs, a multitude of thieves.
 हुङ्गानि-शिखान्द्वानि चोरद्वन्द्वानि वा सन्त्येषु इत्यस्यर्थे प्रत्ययः हुङ्गराः—शिलोच्चयमात्र-
 रूपाः—
 —JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 2, leaf 168. cf. Guj. हुङ्गो, हुङ्गो, हुङ्गो 'a thief',
 and दोङ्ग, Kannaḍa डोंका 'roguish, arrogant, fleshy'.
- हुङ्गर** m. a hillock
 हुङ्गराः—शिलोच्चयमात्ररूपाः—
 —JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 2, p. 168. cf. Deśi हुङ्गर; Guj. हुङ्गर; Hindi हुङ्गर,
 Mar. डोंगर.
- डोडकिला** adj. about to bear or produce fruits, fruitioning.
 गर्भिण्यो जातगर्भा डोडकिला वक्ष्यः फलामिमुखवहय इत्यर्थः—
 —JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 3, leaf 208. cf. Guj. substantives डोडयुं-बो, डोडो, डोडो.
- डोलिका** f. a type of litter.
 'गिह्लि'ति पुरुषद्वयोस्त्रिता डोलिका—
 —JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 2, leaf 123. cf. Deśi डोल्ग; Guj. डोळी. Vide शोलिका.
- √ढक्** to close.
 सा एवंविधा त्रिप्रकारा स्त्री एकाकिर्लं सार्धं प्रविष्टं दृष्ट्वा गृहे द्वारं ढक्कयित्वा गृहीयान् ।
 —OND., *Bhāṣyagāthā* 222, leaf 150. cf. Deśi ढक्क; Guj. √ढांक 'to
 cover, to close with a lid, to conceal'.
- ढङ्कुर** n. a loud noise.
 ढङ्कुरं महच्छब्दम् ॥ ३१ ॥—
 —SPD., p. 36. cf. Deśi ढङ्कुर; also Deśi ढङ्कु 'a fife'; Guj., Hindi ढकी
 'a fife-player'. [The name of a small river in Central Guj is ढाढर,
 which can be a derivative of ढङ्कुर. This is noteworthy when we
 compare these words with similar words नद-नदी which literally mean
 'that which makes a sound'.]
- तन्तुलीयक** m. Name of a green vegetable, *Hermaphrodite amaranth*.
 हरितानि तन्तुलीयक—
 —As., p. 51, l. 24. cf. Pkt. तडुलेज्जय; Guj. तांदळजो; Mar. तांदुळज.
- तप** m. a raft, a float.
 सम्प्रति नारकादीनामेवावधेः संस्थानं चिन्त्यते—तत्र नारकाणामवधिः तप्राकारः, तपो
 नाम काष्ठसमुदायविशेषो यो नदीप्रवाहेन प्लाव्यमानो दूरादानीयते, स चायतरत्र्यसश्च
 भवति, तदाकारोऽवधिनारकाणां—
 —NM., p. 88, ll. 6-7;
 तप्राकारादीनां च व्याख्यानमिदं भाष्यकृदाह—तज्ज्येन समागारो ओही नेओ स चाययत्तंसो
 [चायतरत्र्यसः] । उदाययो उ पल्लो उवरि च स किंचि संखेतो ॥ १
 —Ibid., p. 88, ll. 18-19. cf. Guj. त्रापो, तरापो; Hindi तरापा; Mar. तराफा.

तलवर m. a high-placed police-officer.

राष्ट्राणां दृष्टेण चामीकरपट्टो रयणस्रङ्गो सिरसि बद्धो यस्य सो तलवरो भण्यति—

—ADC., p. 11, l. 6;

जे इमे राईसर-तलवर—माढविमं—

—AD., *Sūtra* 19;

परितुष्टनरपतिप्रदत्तलालङ्कृतसौवर्णपट्टविभूषितशिरास्तलवरः—

—AMH., p. 23, l. 9;

तलवरश्च प्रभुस्थानीयो नगरादिचिन्तकः—

—US., *Adhyayana* II, p. 343;

‘तलवराः’ राजवल्लभाः—

—BSA., *Śataka* 9, *Udd.* 33;

तलवराः परितुष्टनरपतिप्रदत्तपट्ट-बन्धविभूषिता राजस्थानीयाः—

—*Ibid.*, 9. 33. cf. Old Guj. तलार.

तिड्ढक m. a locust.

मक्षिका-डोलादयो वा प्राणिनो यत्र बहवः प्रविशन्ति, डोलाः—तिड्ढका उच्यन्ते—

—BKK., Vol. III, p. 675. cf. Deśī तिड्ढ; Guj. तीड n.

तिलककरणी f. a pencil or small stick used for making the decorative *tilaka*-marks with unguents of sandal etc.

तिलकः कियन्ते यया सा तिलककरणी—दन्तमयी सुवर्णात्मिका वा शलाका यया गोरोचनादियुक्तया तिलकः कियत इति—

—SKS., *Śrutaskandha* 1, *Adh.* 4, *Udd.* 2, leaf 117.

तिलपपटं n. a sweetmeat made from sesamum seeds.

तिलपपटं पिष्टतिलमयम्—

—DVH., *Adh.* 5, *Udd.* 2, p. 185. cf. Guj. तलपापडी f. *Vide* तिलपपटिका, पपटि, पापटिका; also गुडपपटिका, तिलशङ्कुलिका.

तिलपपटिका f. same as तिलपपटं.

तथा शङ्कुली तिलपपटिकाम्—

—DVH., *Adh.* 5, *Udd.* 2, p. 176. cf. Guj. तलपापडी. *Vide* तिलपपटं, पपटि, पापटिका; also गुडपपटिका, तिलशङ्कुलिका.

तिलशङ्कुलिका f. same as तिलपपटं.

जह वा तिलशङ्कुलिया बहुएहि तिलेहि मेलिया संती ।

पंतयसरीराणं तह हुंति सरीरसंवाया ॥ १३२ ॥

--यथा वा तिलशङ्कुलिका—तिलप्रधाना पिष्टमयपोलिका बहुभिस्त्रिलैर्निष्पादिता सती भवति, तथा प्रत्येकशरीराणां तरुणां शरीरसङ्घाता भवन्तीति द्रष्टव्यमिति ॥

—AS., *Niryukti-gāthā* 132, p. 52. cf. Guj. तलसांफली. *Vide* गुडपपटिका, तिलपपटिका. शङ्कुलिका.

तिलोदक n. sesamum-water.

तिलोदकं—महाराष्ट्रादिषु निरुयाचितिलधानं जलम्—

—KD., *Paryuṣaṇa-samācāri*, p. 10.

तृणकुञ्जीकरण n. the slightest exertion; lit. : 'bending a straw.'

एवमन्योऽपि जराभिभूतविग्रहस्तृणकुञ्जीकरणेऽप्यसमर्थः सन् कार्यैकनिष्ठलोकात् परि-
भवमानोति ।

—As., p. 96, ll. 5-6. cf. Guj. idiom: तणखलु तोडवुं 'breaking a straw' in an identical sense.

तृणपुलिका f. a bundle of grass.

...जलियचुडली विव अमुच्चमाणडहणसीलाओ...

Sanskrit *Chāyā*:

प्रसीततृणपुलिकेवामुच्यमाना दहनशीलाः ॥ ५६ ॥

—PD., 5—*Tandulavaicārika-prakīrṇakam*, p. 50. cf. Guj. पूली, पूले and Hindi पूली, पूला 'a bundle of grass.'

थिंगल(क) n. a patch sewed on to cover a hole in a garment.

अयं च 'पाशाकबद्धः' कसाबद्धः तथा 'अशुधिरः' शुद्धिहीननिकारहितः प्रतिथिंगलवर्जितो वा
—BKK., Vol. IV, p. 1116;

अन्यस्य छिद्रवतो वस्त्रस्य थिंगलकं कुर्वन्ति—

—VM., *Udd.* 8, p. 29. cf. Guj. थिंगडु, थिंगडुं; Hindi थिंगल.

थिह्ति n. ? a saddle.

'थिह्ति'ति लाटानां यदध्वपल्यानम्, तदन्वविषयेषु 'थिह्ति' इत्युच्यते ।

—BSA., Vol. II, p. 88 (*Śat.* 3, *Udd.* 4);

'थिह्ति'ति अङ्गुपलार्ण—

—*Ibid.*, *Śat.* 8, *Udd.* 9. *Vide* जिन, पल्यान.

थुड n. the stem of a tree.

खन्धः—थुडं, त्वक्-छली—

—RPM., *Sūtra* 3, leaf 5. [The vocable is fairly prevalent in Old Guj.; *vide e.g. Vasantavilāsa* (c. V.S. 1400 = 1344 A.D.), verse 81:

एक थुड [*v.l.* थुड, थड] बउल नह बेउल

बेउ लता नव मेउ ।

भमर विचालि किस्सा मर

पामर बिलसि न बेउ ॥]

cf. mod. Guj. थड. *Vide* स्फुड.

दर्हर m. a stair-case.

दर्हर सिल सोबाणे..... ॥ सूत्र ३६४ ॥

—'दर्हरः' निरन्तरकाष्ठफलकमयो निःश्रेणिविशेषः ।

—PNM., p. 109. cf. Guj. दादर, दादरो.

द्वरक m. a cord.

‘त्वचा वा’ सनादिक्या लतया वाऽन्यतमेन वा द्वरकेण ताडनतः—

—SKS., *Śrūta* 2, *Adh* 2, leaf 312;

ततः स्थूला बाहुकामयाः कतिपये द्वरकाः कृत्वा क्षीघ्रं प्रेषणीया इति—

—NM., p. 147, l. 11, also lines 13, 14;

पोष्टकान् द्वरकेण सङ्कल्य—

—BKM. p. 167. *cf.* Guj. दोरो, Hindi डोरा. *Vide* दवरिका.

दवरिका f. a string.

जीवया-प्रत्यञ्जया दवरिकया इत्यर्थः—

—SPM., leaf 233. *cf.* Guj. दोरा; Hindi डोरा. *Vide* दवरक.

दाहिका f. the chin.

(अहरष्टा) > दाहिका—

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 9, p. 225. *cf.* Guj. दाढी; Hindi दाढ़ी.

दाण n. a tax.

शुल्कं—दाणमिति लोके—

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 5, p. 103;

शुल्के विक्रयस्थानके प्रति मण्डपिकायां राजदेये ग्राह्ये ‘दाण’ इति लोके.

—KS., p. 253. *cf.* Guj., Mar. दाण; Hindi दान.

दोरखेलक m. *same as* जळ.

(नडनट्टगजळ.....)—नाटककारकाः नर्तका ये स्वयं नृत्यन्ति जहा-दोरखेलकाः—

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 5, p. 102. *Vide* वरत्राखेलक.

धीउल्लिका f. a doll.

AMH., p. 13, ll. 9-11. For quotation *vide* पङ्क्त. [The term धिउल्लिया is employed in the *Samarāiccakahā* in the sense of a doll.] *cf.* Pkt. धिउल्लिया; Old Guj. धी-बीया-धूया ‘a daughter’. Also *cf.* a parallel semantic development: Skt. पुत्रिका, पुनलिका ‘a daughter’ and hence ‘a doll’.

नशन n. running away. VM., part III, p. 103. For quotation see बाहु. *cf.* Guj. नाशी जवु.

नकुटिक m. a staple.

नामदन्तर्का—नकुटिकौ-अकुटिकावित्यर्थः—

—JPS, *Vakṣaskāra* 1, leaf 50. *cf.* Guj. नकुतो, Hindi नकुवा.

नही f. the skin close to the nail.

नखिका—नहीति लोकशब्दः।—

—KK., p. 193;

कणिका—शात्यादिषीजानां मुखमूले नखिका नहीति लोके तत्समवर्णम् ॥ ३ ॥

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 9, p. 226;

बीजसूक्ष्मं कणिका शात्यादिषीजानां नहीति रुढा नखिका ।—

—KSV., p. 151;

बीजसूक्ष्मं कणिका-शात्यादिषीजानां मुखमूले नहीति रुढा नखिका—

—KD., *Paryuṣaṇā-samācārī*, p. 16. cf. Guj. नहियुं. Vide नहीउं.

नहीउं n. same as नही.

कणिका नखिका 'नहीउं' इति लोके तत्समानवर्णानि नाम प्रज्ञप्तानि—

—KS., p. 565. cf. Guj. नहियुं.

नाहर m. a wolf.

(ईहावि(मि)म)—वृकाः, नाहरा इति प्रसिद्धाः—

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 3, p. 60. cf. Guj. नहार ; Hindi नाहर.

निम्बतिलक m. the crush of *melia azadirachta* leaves and sesamum seeds.

'निम्बतिलमादयु होज 'ति (६२२-११), चैत्रमासे हि किल कृषिनिम्बपत्राणि तिल-
मिश्राणि कुट्टयित्वा हृदयशुद्धयर्थं निम्बतिलकाः कियन्ते—

—AHH., p. 97.

निष्पाव m. a kind of pulse, *Dolichos lablab*. BKK., Vol. II, p. 414;
KK., p. 74.

नेम m. an aim.

जह कारणं तु तत् पडस्स तेसिं च होति पम्हाई ।

नाणाइतिगस्सेवं आहारो मोक्खनेमस्स ॥ ७० ॥

—यथा पटस्य तन्तवः कारणं तेषामपि तन्तूनां कारणानि पद्माणि भवन्ति, 'एवम्'
अनेन प्रकारेण ज्ञानादितिकस्य 'मोक्खनेमस्स'ति नेमशब्दो देश्यः कार्याभिधाने रुढः,
ततो मोक्षो नेमः—कार्यं यस्य तस्य कारणं भवत्याहारः ।

—PNM., *Sūtra* 70, p. 28. cf. Deśī नेम ; Guj., Mar. नेम 'motive,
purpose, goal'.

पडंघा m. the wrist.

(पडट्ट)—प्रकोष्ठौ—लोकोक्त्या पडंघा—

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 2, p. 50;

रमणिज्जपिच्छणिज्जे थिरलट्टपडट्ट ... —(पडट्ट)—प्रकोष्ठौ कलाचिके 'पडंघा' इति
लोकप्रसिद्धौ हस्तावयवौ—

—KS., p. 116. cf. Guj. पडोचो ; Hindi, Mar. पहोंचा.

पञ्चकुल m. a government officer.

चुल्लगो-भोजनं तदेव करः चुल्लगकरः स चायं ग्रामे पञ्चकुलादीनधिकृतस्य प्रसिद्ध एव—

—AM., p. 596. cf. Guj. पंचोळी.

पटालिका f. the frontage, the first portion of a house next to the entrance-door.

या वा 'अपसारिका'—पटालिका—

—BKK., Vol. IV, p. 976. cf. Guj. पटाळी. Vide अपसारिका, अवसरिका.

पट्टिका f. a plank to sit upon,

'भिसियाओ य'ति वृषिका—उपवेशनपट्टिका:—

—AuA., Sūtra 39, leaf 95. cf. Guj. पाटळी, पाटली.

पट्टक m. a he-buffalo.

पट्टकडागोत्यस्यादिबहुदोषहेतुमहिष्यजादिसङ्ग्रहं च वर्जयेदिति ।

—SPR., p. 40. cf. Guj. पाडो ; Hindi पहाडा.

परिअञ्चि m. ? a curtain,

'जवणिअं'—यवनिकां परिअञ्चि इति लोके—

—KKS., Kṣapa III, p. 72. This word is fairly common in Old Guj. in such forms as परीअञ्चि and परियञ्चि; vide e.g. :

“खोटु भाषइ भूपति बली,

अम्ह कुमरि छि ते अंघली ।

तेणि काजि परीअञ्चि परटुं,

अंधानन नहि देखुं ॥”

—Bīlhaṇapañcāsikā of Jñāna, verse 28;

“परियञ्चि निरस्करिणी”—Auktikapadāni (Prācīna Gujarātī Gadyasandarbha, p. 190. For details vide Sāṇḍesarā B J., “परीअञ्चि”, Buddhi-prakāśa (Guj. Journal), July-Sept. 1945, pp. 98-99.

परपटि f. same as गुड[ल]पर्णटिका.

'सङ्कुली' परपटि:—

—NC., part III, Bhāṣya-gāthā 2480, leaf 504. cf. Guj. पापडी. Vide पापडिका, सङ्कुली.

पल्यान n. a saddle.

'यिछि'ति लाटानां यदध्वपल्यानम्, तदन्यविषयेषु 'यिछि' इत्युच्यते ।

—BSA., Vol. II, p. 88 (Śat. 3, Udd. 4). cf. Skt. पल्यान ; Pkt. पल्लण ; Guj. पलाण. Vide जिन, यिछि.

पल्लक m. a circular vessel for keeping corn.

पल्लको नाम लाटदेशे धान्याधार-विशेषः, स चोर्ध्वाध आयत उपरि च किञ्चित्संक्षिप्तः—

—PM., Avadhipada 33, leaf 542;

'पल्लक'ति पल्लको नाम लाटदेशे धान्याधारविशेषः, स च ऊर्ध्वायत उपरि च किञ्चित् संक्षिप्तः—

—AM., p. 58;

पल्लको नाम लाटदेशे धान्यालयः—

—Ibid., p. 113;

अवनपतीनां सर्वेषामपि पल्लवस्थानसंस्थितः [अवधिः], पल्लवो नाम लाटदेशे धान्या-
धारविशेषः, स चोर्ध्वायत उपरि च किञ्चित्संक्षिप्तः—

—NM. p. 88, ll. 7-8 ;

तप्तकारादीनां च व्याख्यानमिदं भाष्यकृदाह—तप्पेण समागारो ओटि नेओ स चाय-
यसो । उड्वायो उ पल्लो उडरि च स किञ्चि संक्षेप्तो ॥

—*Ibid.*, p. 88, ll. 18-19. *cf.* Pkt. पल्लव ; Guj. पालुं ; पालुं.

पल्लव m. the skirts or hem of a garment

‘ चित्रकर्म ’ चित्रलिखितं रूपकं ‘ पोत्यकम्मे व ’ति अत्र पोत्य-पोतं वस्त्रमित्यर्थः, तत्र कर्म-
तत्पल्लवनिष्पन्नं धीउल्लिकारूपकमित्यर्थः, अथवा पोत्य-पुस्तकं तच्चेह संपुटकस्य गृह्यते, तत्र
कर्म तन्मध्ये वर्तिकालिखितं रूपकमित्यर्थः अथवा पोत्य-ताडपत्रादि तत्र कर्म-तच्छेदनिष्पन्नं
रूपकं—

—AMH., p. 13, ll. 9-11. *cf.* Guj., Mar. पालव.

पागडा n. pl. a type of anklets.

चरणमालिका—संस्थानविशेषकृतं पादाभरणं लोके पागडा इति प्रसिद्धम् —

—JPS., *Vakṣas-kāra* 2, leaf 106. [The vocable is fairly prevalent in
Old Guj. ; *vide*, e.g., *Varṇakasamuccaya* (*Prācīna Gurjara Grantha-
mālā*, no. 4), part I, p. 217, ll. 22-23 : “ पदकडी, हांस, शांकर, नेजर, सांकल,
त्रेवेक, पागडा, वीछोया, अगूलो. ”]

पाट m. a ward or area.

‘ बाडेपु ’ति बाटेपु पाटेपु वा वृत्तिवरणिकादिपरिक्षिप्तगृहसमूहात्मकेषु—

—US., *Adh.* 30, pp. 604-605. *cf.* Guj. पाडो. *Vide* वाट.

पाटक m. a ward, a locality.

युवतीनां च—तरुणीनां पण्यतरुणीनामिति द्वयं, यानि विविधानि सन्निविष्टानि-सन्निवेशनानि
पाटकास्तानि बहुलानि बहूनि यस्यां सा तथा—

—AuA., *Sūtra* 1, leaf 2 ;

तत्रार्हचैत्यानां जनानां वृत्तिनां च विविधानि यानि सन्निविष्टानि—पाटकास्तैर्बहुलेति
विग्रहः—

—*Ibid.*, leaf 2 ;

वसहीए एवं निवेशन-पाडग-साही-निओग-पुर-देस-रजाओ.....पारजियओ कीरइ ।—

पाटको ग्रामादेर्व्यवच्छिन्नः सन्निवेशः ।

—JKCV., pp. 29, 58. *cf.* Guj. पाडो ‘ a street ’.

पाटवीकुंवर m. the heir apparent to the throne.

मंगलजयसहक्यालोए अण्णमणनायगदंडनायगराईसर.....—(राइ)—राजानो माण्ड-
लिकाः (ईसर)—ईश्वराः युवराजाः ‘ पाटवीकुंवर ’ इति लोके—

—KS, p. 180. *cf.* Guj., Hindi पाटवीकुंवर.

पानां n. pl. emerald-leaves.

हारविरायत.....आइयपतिअ...—(आइयपतिअ)—आयुकाभिर्यथास्थानस्थापितानिः
पत्रिकाभिर्मरुतपत्रैः ‘ पानां ’ इति लोकप्रसिद्धैः—

—KS., p. 124. cf. Guj. पान, पातुं 'a leaf' in singular and पानां 'leaves' in plural.

पापविका f. same as पर्पटि.

सङ्कीर्ति पापविकादि—

—DVC., Adh. 5, p. 184. cf. Guj. पापकी. Vide गुड[ल]पर्पटिका, तिलपर्पटिका, तिलपर्पट.

पालक्या f. a kind of green vegetable, *Spinasia oleracea*.

हरितानि तन्दुलीयक विह्रीपालक्यादीनि—

—AS., p. 51, ll. 26-27. cf. Pkt. पालका; Guj. पालक, पालख f.

पांशुलि f. a rib.

आजसो ! अनुपुष्पेण अद्धारस य पिट्टकरङ्गसंधीओ बारस पांशुलिकरङ्गया छणंसुलिण कडाहे बिहलिया कुच्छी चउरंगुलिआ गीवा चउपलिआ जिन्ना दुपलियाणि अच्छीणि चउकवाल सिरं बत्तीसं दंता सतंगुलिया जीहा अद्दुपलियं हिययं पणवीस पलाई कालिजं, दो अंता पंचवामा पणता, तं जहा—धूलेते य तणुअंते य

Sanskrit *Chāyā*—

आयुष्मन् ! आनुपूर्वेणाष्टादश वृष्टकरणकसन्धयः द्वादश पांशुलिकरणकाः षट्पांशुलिकः कटाहः द्विहस्तिका कुक्षिः चतुरंगुलिका ग्रीवा चतुष्पला जिह्वा द्विपले अक्षिणी चतुष्कपाले शिरः द्वात्रिंशदन्ताः सप्तगुला जिह्वा अष्टपलं हृदयं पञ्चविंशतिपदं कालेयकं द्वे अन्ये पञ्चवामे प्रज्ञप्तं, तद्यथा—स्थूलान्नं च तन्वन्नं च

—PD., V : *Tandulavaicārka-prakīrṇakam*, pp. 44-45. cf. Pkt. पासल; Guj. पांसली, पांसलु; Hindi पांशुली.

पिञ्जलिका f. a bow-shaped instrument used for carding cotton.

तदेव रुतं पिञ्जलिकया पिञ्जितम्—

—BKK., Vol. III, p. 846. cf. Guj. पीजणी.

पुट्टलिका f. a packet, a bundle.

प्रमिथं—कार्वापणादिपुट्टलिकां सिन्दन्ति—

—AuA., leaf 2. cf. Deśī पोडलिका, Guj. पोडली.

पूणिका f. a roll of carded cotton prepared for spinning.

तदेव रुतं पिञ्जलिकया ताडितं पिञ्जितम्, तदेव पूणिकया बलितं पेलुरिति अभ्यते—

—BKK., Vol. III, p. 846. cf. Deśī पूणिका, पूणी; Guj. पूनी. Vide पेलु.

पूंठी f. the fellow of a wheel.

पपसिअपसिअनिअमिअनअपडपुट्टपरिणिद्धिअं— निर्मिताः—निवेशिताः नवाः—अजीर्णाः पट्टाः—पट्टिका यत्र तत्तथाविधं यत्पुष्टं—चक्रपरिधिरूपं यल्लोके पूंठी इति प्रसिद्धं—JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 3, leaf 211. cf. Guj. पूठियु, पूठियु.

पूपलिका f. a small round cake of flour, meal, etc. thicker than ordinary cakes and mixed with sugar and spices.

हस्तविषया मण्डक-पूपलिकादिना गुडशर्करादि हस्तस्थितं वेष्टयित्वा मुखे पक्षिपति । —BKK., p. 239.

- पेह** n. stomach, belly.
 'उदरं' पेह—
 —NC., *Bhāṣya-gāthā* 593, part I, p. 171. cf. Deśi, Guj., Hindi पेह. *Vide* पोह.
- पेलु** m. a roll of carded cotton.
 तदेव हतं पिञ्जलिकया ताडितं पिञ्जितम्, तदेव पूजिकया बलितं पेलुरिति भण्यते—
 —BKK., Vol. III, p. 846. cf. Deśi पिठली, Pkt. पेलु; Guj. पेल, पेलुं, पोल, पोलुं. *Vide* पूजिका.
- पोंचि** f. a bracelet.
 (आह्वय पत्तिय) —आचिताः—यथास्थानस्थापिताः पञ्चिका पोंचि इति प्रसिद्धाः—
 —KKS., *Kṣana* 2, p. 52. cf. Guj. पहोची; Hindi पङ्की.
- पोह** n. stomach, belly.
 परं 'तद्' अध्वगमनं कर्तुमुर्द्धदरे साधूनां न कल्पते। ते च दरा द्विविधाः, तद्यथा—
 पोहदरा धान्यभाजनदराश्च। तत्र पोहम् उदरं तत्रपा दराः पोहदराः, धान्यभाजनानि
 —कटफयादयन्तान्येव दरा धान्यभाजनदराः। ते दरा ऊर्द्धं यत्र पूर्यन्ते तदूर्द्धदरमुच्यते।
 —BKK., Vol. III, p. 815. cf. Mar. पोह. *Vide* पेह.
- पोहलक** m. a bundle, a packet.
 पोहलकान् दवरकेण सङ्कलयन्...—
 —BKM., p. 167;
 जनः लोकः प्रचुरफलायामटव्यां गत्वा फलानि यावत्पर्याप्तं गृहीत्वा यत्र गत्वा शोषयति,
 पश्चात् गन्त्री-पोहलकादिभिरानीय नगरादौ विक्रीणाति—
 —BKK., p. 279. cf. Guj. पोदले, पोदली, पोदलु. *Vide* पोहलिका.
- पोहलिका** f. a small packet.
 दग्धोपादिभ्यश्च रक्षाकरी पोहलिकां बप्नन्ति—
 —JPS., *Vakṣaṣkāra* 5, leaf 394;
 होमं कृत्वा बबन्धुस्ता, रक्षापोहलिकां द्वयोः ॥ १७ ॥
 —KS., p. 238; KD., p. 70. cf. Deśi पोहलिका; Guj. पोदली. *Vide* पोहलक.
- प्रश्ववण** n. urine.
 —AMH., leaf 50, line 3. For quotation *vide* छिलरक.
- फलहक** n. outskirts, vicinity, a way leading to.
 यदि पुरस्य द्वाराणि पिहितानि, ग्रामस्य फलहकं पथानं वाऽजानंस्तिष्ठति यावत्प्रभातमिति।
 —OND., *Niryukti-gāthā* 11, leaf 23. cf. Pkt. फलिहा f. 'a ditch surrounding a fortress', फलिहि m. f. 'surroundings, arca'; Guj. फलिहं.
- फल** f. a bean.
 'छिवाडि'णि मुद्रादेः फलिं, तामेव विशिनष्टि—
 —AS., p. 293, ll. 24-25; p. 294, l. 3. cf. Guj. फली. *Vide* छिवाडि.

✓फव् to be successful.

फविहामो—

—BK., *Bhāṣya-gāthā* 2219;

कौसंबीए णगीए अजमहागिरी अजमुहवी य दोवि समोसदा । तया य अवीयकाले साधूजणो य हिंढमाणो फव्वति ।

—NC., *Udd.* 16, part V, *Bhāṣya-gāthā* 5694, p. 1114. cf. Guj. ✓काव.

कुल्लडिका f. a sign resembling an asterisk.

एनाथतसो रेखाः कुल्लडिकायुक्ताः, शेषा एकविंशतिसङ्ख्या ऋजवः ॥ २४ ॥

—JKM., II; *Ghaṭikādikālamānam*, p. 11. cf. Guj. कुदबी 'an asterisk'.

Vide कुल्लिका.

कुल्लिका adj. same as कुल्लडिका.

... तासां च पञ्चविंशतिसङ्ख्यानां रेखाणां मध्ये या रेखाः 'नन्दीपिनदा' कुल्लिका-
युक्तास्ताश्चतस्रो वेदितव्याः ॥ २१ ॥

—JKM., II; *Ghaṭikādikālamānam*, p. 10.

फेफस n. a lung.

For quotation vide अबालु. PD., V : *Tandulavaicārika-prakīrṇakam*, pp. 46-47. cf. Guj. फेफसं.

बपोहरीभा फुल n. a kind of flower which opens at noon, *Hibiscus hirtus*.

(बंधुजीवग) —बन्धुजीवकं पुष्पविशेषः 'बपोहरीभा फुल' इति लोकप्रसिद्धम्—

—KS., p. 170. cf. Guj. बपोरियु. Vide बफुरिआ.

बफुरिआ n. same as बपोहरीभा फुल.

(सुअमुहगुंजदरागबंधुजीवग) —शुकचंचुगुञ्जादरागः पुष्पविशेषः बफुरिआ इति लोके
—KKS., p. 67. cf. Guj. बपोरियु.

बरटी f. a kind of corn, *Panicum italicum*.

'बरग' ति बरटी धान्यविशेषः सपादलक्षादिषु प्रसिद्धः—

—JPS., *Vākṣakāra* 2, leaf 124. Vide बरैटी.

बबैटी f. a kind of corn, *Panicum italicum*.

—KK., p. 74. cf. Guj., Mar. बटी. Vide बरटी.

बहिरख m. an armlet, mostly of beads.

...(तुडिअति) —तुटिताख बाहुरक्षकाः, 'बहिरखा' इति लोके...

—KS., p. 52. cf. Guj. बेरलो, बेरखी.

बहुकरिका f. a large broom.

'सम्माजन' बहुकरिकया प्रमाजनम्—

—BKK., Vol. II, p. 495. cf. Deśī बोहार्ता; Guj. बोधरो m.

- बूरो** m. a kind of vegetable.
 बूरो वनस्पतिविशेषः—
 —NC., p. 1; KS., p. 110; KD., p. 38.
- बेडिका** f. a boat.
 ये बेडिकाया अवतारितास्ते नाविकस्य वा साधूनां वा उपरि प्रद्वर्ष गच्छेयुः ।
 —BKK., Vol. V, p. 1488. cf. Deśī बेड, बेडा, Guj. बेडली, बेडो.
- बोड** m. one who is clean-shaved on the head (in contempt).
 आहाकम्मे भुजइ न पडिक्कमए य तस्स ठाणस्स ।
 एमेव अडइ बोडो लुक्कविलुक्का जह क्कोडो ॥ २१७ ॥
 —.....' बोडः ' जिनाज्ञाभङ्गे निष्कलं तस्य क्षिरोलुब्धनाशीति बोड इत्येवमधिक्षिपति ।
 —PNM., pp. 76, 93. cf. Deśī बोड्ड; Guj. बोड्ड 'having a clean-shaved head'.
- बोत्कट** m. a goat.
 किमेवं छागलेन न्यायेन जल्पथ ? बोत्कटवन्मूर्खतया किमेवमेव प्रलयथ ? इत्यर्थः ।
 —BKK., Vol. VI, p. 1607. cf. Deśī बोकड, बोक्कड; Guj. बोक्को.
- ब्राह्मणी** f. a type of insect.
 हलिका गृहकोकिला ब्राह्मणी वा—
 —KD., Paryuṣaṇā-samācārī, p. 17. cf. Guj. बामणी. Vide गृहकोकिला, हलिका.
- भट्टिक** n. a burnt thing.
 'नेजसा'—अग्निना 'अभितापनानि' स्त्रीसम्बन्धिभिर्भुतेजितै राजपुरुषैर्भट्टिककाण्यपि
 क्रियन्ते पारदारिकाः—
 —SKS., Adh. IV, Udd. 1, Sūtra 21 (Śrutaskandha 1), p. 112.
 cf. Guj. भड्डु 'a well-baked thing, a highly burnt thing'.
- भण्डन** n. employment of abusive language.
 परस्पररोपमर्दकानि दण्डादण्डिभण्डने विदध्यात्—
 —AS., p. 194, l. 10. cf. Guj. भांडण.
- भरडक** m. a contemptuous term for the keeper of Śiva-temple.
 यत्र ब्राह्मण-नापस-भरडक-लैत्रिकादिभिर्भुनीनामपमानं न स्यात् ॥ ११ ॥
 —KK., p. 7. cf. Guj. भरडो.
- भर्जिका** f. any green esculent vegetable.
 'डोगो'पि वस्तुलादिभर्जिका—
 —PVA., 2.5, leaf 163. cf. Pkt. सज्जिआ; Guj. Hindī, Mar. भाजी.
- भाटक** n. a rent.
 ये पूर्व 'कयितादयः' वसतेभट्टिकसमर्पणविक्रयणादथो दोषा वर्णिताः. .—
 —BKK., Vol. II, p. 459. cf. Guj. भाडु; Hindī भाडा; Mar. भाडे.

- भाण्ड** m. a joker speaking indecent language.
 लासका—ये रासकान् ददति जयशब्दप्रयोकारो वा भाण्डा इत्यर्थः—
 —KD., p. 73. cf. Guj. मांड.
- भाण्डागारिता** adj. preserved, concealed.
 सम्पूर्णा तु गाथा भाण्डागारिता—
 —AS., p. 169, l. 28. cf. Guj. भडारेवी.
- भिण्ड** m. name of an esculent vegetable, *Abelmoschus esculentus*.
 स्थलानां मध्ये एरण्डो भिण्डो वा प्रकल्पितः—
 —AS., p. 178, l. 2. cf. Guj. भींडो.
- मण्डक** m. a kind of bread.
 'लोहि'ति मण्डकादिपचनभाजनम्—
 —BSA., *Śataka* 8, *Udd.* 9;
 हन्तविषया-मण्डक-पूपलिकादिना गुड-शर्करादि हस्तरिचतं वेष्टयित्वा मुखे प्रक्षिपति ।
 मुखविषया-पूर्वं मण्डकादि मुखे प्रक्षिप्य ततः शर्करा-खण्डादि प्रक्षिपति ।
 —BKK., p. 239;
 'मण्डकाः' कणिकाभ्याः—
 —*Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 504 cf. Guj. मांडो, Mar. मांडा.
- मण्डिका** f. a village council-hall.
 विकटग्रहे मण्डिकायां यत्र ग्राम्यपरिषदुपविशति तत्र—
 —KD., *Paryuṣanā-samācārī*, p. 13. cf. Guj. मंडी. [At Pāṭāṇa in north Guj. the City Police Inspector's Office, which is situated in the heart of the market, is still known among the villagers as मंडी.]
- मकोटक** m. a large black ant.
 मकोटका अत्र रात्रावुत्तिष्ठन्तो—
 —BKK., Vol. III, p. 830;
 रात्रौ मकोटकादीन् दोषान् ज्ञात्वा—
 —*Ibid.*, p. 830. [मकोटन, the Pkt. parallel of this word, is employed in *Bhāṣya-gāthās* 2930-2931 at p. 830.] cf. Guj. मंकोडो, मकोडो; Hindi मकोडा.
- मल्लक** n. a trough, an earthen pot for keeping whey etc.
 JKC., *Gāthā* 9, p. 9, l. 8. For quotation *vide* इनल. cf. Guj. मालकुं.
- मल्लिका** f. soot, lamp-black.
 खजनं दीपमल्लिकामलः—
 —RPM., *Sūtra* 15, leaf 32. cf. Guj. मळी.

मशकगृह n. a mosquito-curtain.

(रत्नसुवर्णसुए) — मशकगृहनामरक्तवज्रावृते —

—KKS., *Kṣāṇa* 2, p. 48;

रक्षाशुकैः मशकग्रहाभिधानेन रक्तवज्रेणाच्छादिते —

—KS., p. 110;

रक्षाशुकसंयुते मशकगृहभिधानवज्रावृते —

—KD., p. 38.

महल ? a bar of gold.

तपनीयपटैः रक्तखर्णमयपट्टकैलोकं महल इति प्रसिद्धः सङ्गृहीते दृढीकृते.....

—JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 2-3, leaf 211.

महेला f. a wife, a woman.

ततः पश्चादायातः सभार्याकः सः पुरुषो भणितो मूलवेदेन — भो महापुरुष ! महेलाया

ममास्मिन् वननिकुञ्जे प्रसवो वर्तते, ततः क्षणमात्रे निजमहेलां विसर्जय —

—NM., p. 154, ll. 20-21;

ततः पुनरपि मन्त्रिणा लेखप्रदानेन सा महेलोका — द्वावपि निजपती तयोरेव प्रामयोः

समकं त्रेपणीयौ —

—*Ibid.*, p. 155, l. 7;

एवमपि यदि न तिष्ठति ततोऽतिष्ठन्ती गृहाजिष्काश्यते, मा भूदपरासामपि गृहमहेला-
नामस्याः प्रसङ्गजनित एवैविध एव कुहेवाक इति कृत्वा ।

—BKK., Vol. II, p. 389. cf. Skt. महिला, महीला : Pkt. महिला,

महेला : Old Guj. महिला, महिली, महेला. [In Old Guj. it also

means 'a maid-servant in a royal palace'. There psychologically it appears to have been connected with

महेल 'a palace'.]

माढ m. the storey of the portico or gate ; the front portion of a storeyed house.

आह च मूलीकाकारः — “ कुडो-माढभाग उच्छ्रयः शिखर ” मिति —

—JM., *Pratipatti* 3, *Sūtra* 129, leaf 204 ;

कूटो-माढभागः —

—*Ibid.*, *Pratipatti* 3, *Sūtra* 183, leaf 360. cf. Skt. माढि; Deśi माढिज;

Guj. माढ, माढ; Hindi माढ, माढी, Mar. माढ. Vide माढ.

माढ m. same as माढ,

कूटो-माढभागः —

—JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 1, leaf 49. cf. Guj. माढ; Hindi माढ, माढी.

माधविय m. a type of wandering mendicants.

नढ नष्टा.....लासग आरक्षग लेखमर्ष.....—लासकाः रासपाठकाः तलाराः

वंशाप्रलेखकाः मङ्गल — माधविया इति प्रसिद्धाः —

—KKS., *Kṣāṇa* 5, p. 102.

मालक m. [1] a nest.

किं वा सवालकाः साण्डका वा काकाहीनां मालका भूमौ पातिताः ?—

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 4, p. 88. cf. Guj. माळो.

[2] a storey; an elevated seat.

मैवैः—मालकैः अतिमञ्चास्तु मालकोपरिमालकास्तैः सहितम्—

—*Ibid.*, *Kṣaṇa* 5, p. 101;

मैत्रा—मालकाः—प्रेक्षणकञ्जनोपवेशननिमित्तं—

—KD., p. 73;

मैत्रा मालकाः प्रेक्षणकद्वृज्जनोपवेशननिमित्तं—

—KSV., p. 83. cf. Deśi माल; Guj., Mar. माल.

मुत्कल adj. [1] lonely, solitary.

‘तत्र’ चतुःशालादिगृहमध्ये ‘हिरण्यं’ रूपम्...मुत्कलं शून्यं च दृष्टा कश्चिद् निर्धर्मा
व

लोभादपहरेत्...

—BKK., Vol. III, p. 744.

[2] free.

यद्यहं जितो भविष्यामि तर्हि स मोदको मया दातव्यो यः प्रतोन्वीहारेण न निर्गच्छति,

एषोऽपि न याति तस्मादहं मुत्कल इति—

—NM., p. 150, l. 8. cf. Guj. मोकळु, Hindi मोकला, Mar. मोकळा.

मुत्कलित adj. sent.

एवं निरुत्तरीकृत्य मुत्कलिता राजनिवृत्ताः पुरुषाः, तैश्च राजे निवेदिनं—

—NM., p. 147, l. 26,

ध्रुवा चेदं प्रथमदर्शने मङ्गलवचस्तुतोष राजा, मुत्कलितः शेषो ग्रामलोकः—

—*Ibid.*, p. 148, ll. 13-14 cf. Old Guj. मोकलामणी ‘good-bye’; Guj.

√मोक्ल ‘to send’.

मूसा f a crucible.

मूसा—सुवर्णमालनमृन्मयपात्रम्—

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 2, p. 50. cf. Skt. मुषा, मुषी, मूष, मूषा, मूषिका; Guj., Mar.

मूस; Hindi मूषी.

मेण्डक m. a ram, a sheep.

ततो भूयोऽपि राजा रोहकबुद्धिपरीक्षार्थं मेण्डकमेकं प्रेषितवान्—

—NM., pp. 24, 146,

शकं प्रत्यासक्तं भूत्वा मेण्डकमेनं यवसदानेन पुष्टीकुरुत—

—*Ibid.*, p. 147, l. 3. cf. Guj. मेंढो; Mar. भेडा.

मुगम्बरी f. a kind of grain, *Sorghum vulgare*.

KK., p. 74. cf. Deśi जुगारे, जोवारि; Guj. जुवार.

रखे ind. lest.

से जदेयं तुम्हे वयह...मा मे एए—(मा मे एए...)—मा इति निषेधे, लोके 'रखे' इति
—KS., pp. 164-65. cf. Guj. रखे, रखेने.

राडलिया[आ] m. pl. persons belonging to a particular class of bards or mendicants.

स्कन्धारोपितपुरुषाः मङ्गलपाठकाः लोके 'राडलिया'—

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 5, p. 115;

घंटया रवंतीति घंटिकाः, राडलिआ इति रुढाः ।—

—KSV., p. 96;

(घंटियगणेहिं)—घण्टया चरन्तीति घण्टिका 'राडलिआ' इति लोके प्रसिद्धाः, एतेषां गणैः—

—KS., p. 282 ;

घण्टया चरन्तीति घण्टिका राडलिआ इति रुढाः—

—KK., p. 97;

घण्टया चरन्तीति घण्टिकाः राडलिआ इति रुढाः—

—KD., p. 83. cf. Guj. रावळिया.

राजमुद्ग m. a kind of pulse, *Phaseolus aconitifolius*, known in Guj. as मठ. KK., p. 74.

राटि f. a quarrel, wrangling.

सन्ध्यागते नक्षत्रे शुभप्रयोजनेषु प्रारब्धमाणेषु कलहो राटिर्भवति—

—VM., part II, p. 41. cf. Pkt. राटि; Guj., Mar. राड; Hindi राट. Vide राटी.

राटी f. same as राटि.

तत्र कलहो-राटी—

—SA., *Adh.* 1, leaf 26. cf. Pkt. राटि; Guj., Mar. राड; Hindi राट.

रालक m. a kind of pulse, chickling vetch, *Lathyrus sativus*.

—KK., p. 74. cf. Guj. लंग. Vide लंग.

रूत n. cotton.

तदेव रूतं पिञ्जिकया पिञ्जितम्—

—BK K., Vol. III, p. 846. cf. Deśi रूत; Guj. रू; Hindi, Mar. रूई.

लंग m. same as रालक.

“त्रिपुडा” लंगवलगा—

—NC., part II, p. 236. cf. Guj. लंग.

लज्जा f. a bribe.

‘उक्कोडाहि य’ति लज्जाभिः... ‘उवीलेमाणे’ अवपीलयन्—बाधयन् ।—

—VA., leaf 39;

उत्कोटा-लब्धा तथा चरन्ति उत्कोटिकाः—

—RPM., *Sūtra* 1, leaf 2;

उक्कोटा उत्कोटा—लब्धेत्यर्थः तथा ये व्यवहरन्ति ते उत्कोटिकाः—

—JDA., p. 1.

[This word seems to be of Dravidian Origin. Śrī C. N. Joshi has shown (Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh All India Oriental Conference, p. 949) the occurrence of the word in an Old Marāṭhī text like the *Jñāneśvarī* and that it is a loan-word from Kannaḍa.] cf. Guj. लंब.

लट्टाकाणा f. the safflower plant.

‘कुसुम’ ति लट्टाकाणाः यत्पुष्पैर्वस्त्रादिरागः समुत्पाद्यते—

—JPS., *Vakṣaskār.* 2, leaf 124.

लहित adj. loaded, burdened.

यथा ‘गौः’ बलीवदौ महता भारेण लहितो हलं वा वहमानः प्रमोदेनाऽतितोदितः सन् कूर्दयित्वा भारं पातयति, हलं वा भनक्ति—

—BKK., Vol. II, p. 381. cf. Guj. लदायेल.

लपनश्री f. a sweet dish made of wheat-flour and sugar or molasses.

उवस्सगस्स अंनो वगडाए...पूवे वा सङ्कुली वा सिहरिणी वा उक्खित्ताणि वा विक्खित्ताणि वा...नो कापद निगंथाण वा निगंथीण वा अहालंदम वि वत्थण—पूपो वा शङ्कुलिका वा शिखरिणी वा...‘पूपः’ आर्द्रखाद्यकविशेषः, तद्ग्रहणेन लपनश्रीप्रसृतिकं सर्वमप्यार्द्रखाद्यकं गृहीतम् ।...शङ्कुलिकाग्रहणेन शङ्कुलिका-मोदकादिकं सर्वमपि शुष्कखाद्यकं सूचितम् ॥

—BK., *Udd.* 2. *Sūtra* 8, Vol. IV, pp. 969-970. cf. Deśī लप्पसिया; Guj. लापशी-सी. Vide लप्पसिया.

लवणोत्सारण n. popular custom of waving a quantity of salt and mustard seeds over the head of a person and bringing it down to the ground in order to remove the effects of evil sight, etc.

तत्रागमन-निर्गमनपथे चेट्ठरूपाणि भवेयुः तेषां साधुस्मितागच्छद्भिर्निर्गच्छद्भिश्च हस्तपादाद्या-क्रमणं भवेत् । अथासौ कल्पस्थः साधुना केनापि ‘अवधुतः’ उल्लङ्घित इत्यर्थः, ततस्तदीया माता तस्याप्यायेनोत्सर्षणम् आदिग्रहणाद् लवणोत्सारणं वा कुर्यात् ।

—BKK. Vol III, p. 741. cf. Guj. लूण उतारवु.

लाकुटिक m. a cudgel-holder.

लाकुटिकाः—हङ्गराः—

—BKK., Vol. IV, p. 1157. cf. Skt. लकुट ‘a stick’.

लाहणक n. distribution of gifts.

सुवर्णरुच्यरजितवस्त्रपरिधानदिने सोमिणिगृपिणिगिदिवताविशेषानाश्रित्य विशेषपूजा-लाहणकादिदानं च १४ ।

अक्षयतृतीयादिनेऽकर्तनं लाहणकादिदानं च ४८ ।

—SPR., p. 33. cf. Pkt. √लृ 'to get'; also Pkt. लाहण, Guj. लहाणु, लहाणी and Hindi लहनी.

लिङ्गा f. an egg of a louse, a nit.

यूका इति वा लिङ्गा इति वा ?

—JM. *Pratipatti* 3, *Sūtra* 147, leaf 282. cf. Guj. लीख f.

√लुण् to rob, to plunder.

ततस्तदनुसारेणान्य राजानं प्रवेक्ष्य सा पत्नी समस्ता लुण्ठिता दग्धा च—

—AS., p. 328, ll. 25-26. cf. Guj. लुंठवुं; Hindi लुटना.

लुम्बि f. a bunch of fruits.

रथिकस्य यन् सहकारफललुम्बिजोदनं—

—NM., p. 162, l. 25. cf. Deśi लुंबी; Guj. लुंब f., लूम f.; Hindi लूम f.; Mar. लुवी, लेवी.

लोह m. flour.

बवहारस्य य सेसो मीसो पञ्चायरोष्टाई ॥ ४४ ॥ —.....' लोहः ' घरदादिवृणः ।

—PNM., *Piṇḍanikṣepa*, *Vanaspāti-khanda*, p. 19. cf. Guj. लोड.

√लोह to separate cotton seeds from cotton with iron tools (in a ginning factory).

'सेडुगो' नाम कर्मासः, स एव लोहितः सन् बीजरहितो हतम् (३) ।—

—BKK., Vol. III, p. 846. cf. Deśi लोड; Guj. लोदवुं.

वग्धारित adj. seasoned; in which a heated mixture of mustard, *asa foetida*, chillies and oil or ghee is thrown for relish.

'निस्तुप्पा' अन्नोष्णञ्च वग्धारिता वा ॥

—BKK., Vol. II, p. 504. cf. Deśi वग्धारित; Guj. वधारियु; also Guj.

√वधार, Hindi √वचार 'to season'; likewise Guj. वधारणी f. '*asa foetida*'. Vide वधार.

वधार m. seasoning, heating a mixture of mustard, *asa foetida*, chillies, oil or ghee and throwing it into food to give a relish to it.

धूमः—हिङ्गवादिस्तको वधारः—

—PNM., pp. 84, 94. cf. Guj. वधार. Vide वग्धारित.

वधामण n. gifts given to the bearers of good tidings.

एवंविधान् (लंसे पडिच्छमाणे अ पडिच्छावेमाणे य) लामान् ' वधामणा ' इति लीके प्रतीच्छन् स्वयं शुद्धन्, प्रतिग्राहयन् सेवकादिभिः—

—KS., p. 255. cf. Pkt. वद्धावण; Guj. वधामणा (n. pl.), वधारि. Hindi वधारि; Mar. वरधावा.

वरगडाजीव m. a wolf.

जलंतदिव्वदामं ईहासिग....—ईहासुगा वृका 'वरगडाजीव' इति लोके—
—KS., p. 147.

वरण्डक m. a verandah, an open portico or gallery along side of a house with roof supported on pillars.

अथ तत्र सागारिको भवति ततो वरण्डकान्यन्तरे प्रमार्जनं करोति—

—OND., *Bhāṣyagāthā* 262, leaf 174;

अत्र सपरिक्रमेवे इति सपरिक्षेपवृत्तिवरण्डकादिसमन्विते अवाशि प्रामस्य अत्यन्तमवधिर्भूते
उपाश्रये इति गम्यते वत्थए इति वस्तुम्—

—VM., part II, p. 3. cf. Deśi वरडिवा ; Guj. वरड—डो. Vide वरण्डिका.

[Dronācārya was a contemporary of King Bhīmadeva I of Gujārāta and lived in the 11th cent. A.D., while Ācārya Malayagiri was a contemporary of King Kumārāpāla of Gujārāta and flourished in the 12th cent. A.D. The fact that the vocables वरण्डक—वरण्डिका (the next entry) occur in their writings indicates that English *veranda*(h) and Portuguese *varanda* are loan-words from an Indian language.]

वरण्डिका f. a compound-wall.

वाटेषु पाटेषु वा वृत्तिवरण्डिकादिपरिक्षिप्तगृहसमूहात्मकेषु—

—US., p. 605. cf. Deśi वरड; Guj. वडी, वडो, Mar. वडी. Vide वरण्डक.

वरत्रा f. a rope.

वरत्रा—चर्ममयी महारज्जुः—

—PVA., I, 3, leaf 57:

जलाश्व वरत्राखेलकाः—

—*Ibid.*, II, 4, leaf 137;

'जलाश्व' ति जला वरत्राखेलकास्तेषां, राजस्तोत्रपाठकानामित्यन्ये—

—AD., p. 46, l. 12. cf. Guj. वरत and Hindī वरत 'a leathern rope for a bucket'.

बल्लाः m. pl. a kind of pulse, *Dolichos lablab*.

निष्पावाः—बल्लाश्चणकाः प्रतीताः—

—BKK., Vol. II, p. 414. cf. Guj., Mar. बाल. Vide निष्पाव.

वाट m. a ward or area surrounded by a fence or a wall.

वाडेषु य रथ्यासु य घरेषु वा एवमित्यि खेतं—'वाडेषु' ति वाटेषु पाटेषु वा वृत्ति-
वरण्डिकादिपरिक्षिप्तगृहसमूहात्मकेषु, रथ्यासु सेरिकासु—

—US., *Adh.* 30, pp. 604-605. cf. Guj. वाडो. Vide वाट.

वाट(क) m. a hedge.

वाटेन-वाटकेन वृत्त्येत्यर्थः—

—PVA., I, 2, leaf 22. cf. Deśi वाडी, Guj. वाड f.

बाहु m. an escape, running away.

एत्येव ता निरिस्सह दिष्टे बाहुं समणो वा । —यदि भयेन बाहुं करोति, देशीवचनमेतत् नष्टनं करोति, नश्यतीत्यर्थः ।

—VM., part 3, p. 103. cf. Guj. बाहुं पाडुं.

बार्धटिका f. an earthen funnelled vessel used for keeping clarified butter especially when food is being served.

‘करगनीवाद् व’ ति बार्धटिकाप्रीवा कुण्डिका-आलुका ‘उबत्थवणएद् व’ति उबत्थाप-नकप् एभिन्निमिषमनैर्घ्रावायाः कृतोकेति—

—AA., Sūtra 3, leaf 5. cf. Guj. बार्डी; also Mar. बार्णे ‘to serve food’.

बालञ्जुक m. a merchant.

‘वणिज’ति वणिजो—बालञ्जुका विमानमितिकृता व्रजन्ति—

—OND., Bhāṣyagāthā 90, leaf 75. cf. Guj. वणिघो.

शक्कुलिका f. a (dry) sweet.

For quotation *vide* लपनश्री.

BK., II. 8, Vol. IV, pp. 969-970. cf. Pkt. सक्कुली. [The word is prevalent in Old Guj. in the form साकुली; *vide e g.*]

दुग्धवर्णं दहीधरो, घृतवर्णं घारी,

मुकुमाल साकुली, सेव साकुली, परिसणहारि नही आकुली...—

—Varṇakṣ-samuccaya, part I, p. 5, lines 14-15.] Also cf. mod. Guj. साकुली.

शाटिका f. a sari, a kind of cloth worn by ladies.

ततो यदा भोजनाय समागता स्नानशाटिकां याचते ते कुमारः शुष्कामपि शाटीं वदन्ति—

“अहो सीया साडी”—

—NM., p. 163, ll. 2-3. cf. Guj., Hindī, Mar. साडी. *Vide* शाटी, साडी.

शाटी f. same as शाटिका.

For quotation *vide* शाटिका.

—NM., p. 163, ll. 2-3. cf. Guj., Hindī, Mar..साडी, *Vide* साडी.

शिकक n. a sling.

सिक्कमठाणसट्टिया से नेत्ते —‘शिककं’ दध्यादिभाजनाना दोरकमयमाकाशेऽवलम्बनं लोकप्रसिद्धं तत्संस्थानसरिथतम्—

—UDA., II. 18, leaves 20, 22. cf. Pkt. सिक्क, शिक्व, Guj. शीकु, शीकुं; Hindī सीका, छीका; Mar. शिके, शिकें.

शिशिरिणी f. a sweet dish prepared by mixing pieces or crush of bananas, melon and such other fruits with milk, sugar or molasses and spices.

For quotation *vide* लपनश्री, BK., II. 8, Vol. IV, pp. 969-970.

cf. Mar. शिशरिणी, शिशरण, शिकरण, शिकण f. exactly in the same sense.

शिरोविण्डलिकाचीवर n. a sheet of cloth worn on the head, a kind of turban.

तद्द्वयानयने शिरोविण्डलिकाचीवरे आरीयमाने इव शिरो विधूयास्कोटिता दधिघटिका—
—As., p. 125, ll 17-18.

सकुली f. same as पर्पटि.

‘सकुली’ पर्पटिः—

—NC., part III, *Bhāṣyagāthā* 2480, leaf 504. cf. Guj. संकळी.

षष्टिक m. a kind of rice of quick growth, believed to take only sixty days to ripen.

—KK., p. 74. cf. Guj., Hindi, Mar. साठी.

सङ्कलक n. an anklet.

रत्नोत्तजालं-रत्नमयं जङ्घयोः प्रलम्बमानं सङ्कलकम्—

—AuA., *Sūtra* 26, leaf 55. cf. Guj. साकळं.

सवार n. ? morning.

सवारमेवमुत्थाय—

—BKK. [The exact reference is not at hand at present]

cf. Guj. सवार.

साढी f. same as शाढी.

For quotation *vide* शाढिका—

—NM., p. 163, ll. 2-3. cf. Guj. Hindi, Mar. साढी.

सायल m. ? a thigh.

जंघे निगृह्णाणुं गयवरकरसरिसपीवरंगं.....उदशब्देन लोके ‘सायल’ इत्युच्यते—

—KS., p. 122. cf. Skt. सविषक, Pkt. सविषज, Guj. सायळ.

सावुक्षार m. saline earth or bdellium.

दङ्कणक्षारसावुक्षारादेर्बाह्यबहुजीवविनाशनिमित्तात्वाच्च महानेव दोषः ।

—SPR., p. 122. cf. Guj. सावु[ळ]क्षार.

सिङ्ग n. a bean,

तुच्छफलमर्दनिष्पन्नकोमलचवलकमुद्रसिङ्गादिद्रुम्—

—SPR., p. 118. cf. Deśī सिगा, Guj. सिंग, सोग, शिंग (f.); Mar. शेग.

सीमाढा m. pl. neighbouring kings, lit.: ‘kings ruling near the boundaries i.e. सीमा of one’s kingdom’.

स्वदेशसमीपवर्तिनः राजानः ‘सीमाढा राजा’ इति च वक्ष्यम् आशयतन्त्रम् आगताः ॥१०६॥

—KS., p. 261. [In Old Guj. सीमाढ, सीमाद and सीमाल are used in the sense of ‘neighbouring kings’; cf. e.g. Old Guj. versified translation of

Bāṇa’s *Kādambarī* by Bhālana, II. 80. Also cf. ‘सीमालक्षितपत्तिकाश्रयुजः’

—*Karuṇāvajrāyudha-nāṭaka* by Bālacandra, verse 64.]

सीरामण n. break-fast.

नंदिवर्द्धनोत्तवर्षद्वयादेकवर्षान्ते सूर्योदयादारभ्य वरं वृणुत २ यो यन्मार्गयति तत्तस्य दीयते इति पट्टहोदोषणापूर्वकं प्रातराशं लोके सीरामणवेलां यावत् प्रतिदिनं अष्टलक्षाधिकामेकां कोटिं सुवर्णानां ददाति—

—KKS, *Kṣaṇa* 5, pp. 112-113. cf. Guj. सिरामण.

सुकुमारिका f. a kind of dry cake.

‘तवएसु य’ ति तवकानि-सुकुमारिकादितलनभाजनानि—

—VA., *Adh.* 3, leaf 58. cf. Guj. सुवाळी exactly in this sense, which, as a feminine adjective, denotes the sense of ‘gentle, tender’.

सेर m. a seer, a weight of 40 tolas.

आकण्ठजलभृतकुण्डपुरुषस्थापनेन श्रोणो द्वात्रिंशत्सेरमानं जलं निर्गच्छति तदा स पुरुषो मानोपेतः, तोलितश्च पुरुषो यदि अर्द्धभारः स्यात् तदा स उन्मानोपेतः, तत्र भारमानस्य बहुविधत्वात् यथासंभवं ज्ञेयम्, ६ सर्षपाः १ यवः, ३ यवाः १ गुन्जा, ३ गुन्जा १ बल्लः, १६ बल्लः १ गद्याणः, १० गद्याणाः १ पलः, १५० गद्याणाः १ मणः, १० मणाः १ धटी, १० धटयः १ भारः—

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 1, p. 19. cf. Guj. सेर ; Hindi, Mar. सेर.

सेरिका f. a street.

‘रव्यावु’ सेरिकासु—

—US., *Adh.* 30, p. 605. cf. Deśī सेरी, Guj., Mar. सेरी. [In Guj. this word is commonly used in feminine, but occasionally it is found used also in masculine; e.g. ‘वीपळानो सेर-सेर’, a road in Pāṭana (north Guj.); also सेरदो-सेरदो ‘a foot-path’.]

सोद m. a stick.

सोदो नाम शुष्ककाष्ठानि तानि आदिशब्दाद् लेटुकादीनि च पूर्वैल्लमानि पातयन्ति ।

—BKK., Vol. IV, p. 979. cf. Guj. सोदो, मोदी ; Hindi सोदा ; Mar. सोद.

स्थुड n. same as थुड.

तस्याशोकवरपादपस्य यत् स्थुडम्—

—RPM., *Sūtra* 3, leaf 9. cf. Old Guj. थुड ; mod. Guj. थड.

हडकयित adj. affected with hydrophobia.

‘एरंडइ साणे’ ति हडकयितः श्वा तेन खायेत ।

—BKK., Vol. III, p. 829. cf. Guj. हडकायो, हाडकायेल.

हण्डिका f. an earthen pot.

ततो गोशालकस्तद्वितः स्वामी सुवर्णखलग्रामं गच्छन्नन्तराले गोपैर्महाहण्डिकायां परमार्शं पच्यमानं दृष्ट्वा - प्रभो ! पावसं भुज्यते, गोशालेनेत्युक्ते सिद्धार्थेन च तद्गच्छे प्रोक्ते गोपैः सुयत्नेन रक्षिताऽपि सा हण्डिका भग्ना, ततो भवितव्यता नान्यथा स्यादिति नियतिर्गोशालेनाप्रीकृता—

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 6, leaf 127. *cf.* Guj. हांसी, हांछी. [Here is found a significant reference to the origin of the Gośāla doctrine.] *Vide* हाण्डिका.

हथनालिका f. a contrivance (sling ?) for throwing lead-balls.
(खेवणि) — क्षिप्यन्ते सीसकण्टिका आभिरिति खेपिष्यो-हथनालिरिति लोके प्रसिद्धाः
खड्गाः—

—JPS, *Vakṣaśkāra* 3, leaf 206. *Vide* खेविणी.

हलिका f. a type of insect.

हलिका गृहकोकिला ब्राह्मणी वा—

—KD, *Paryuṣaṇā samācārī*, p. 17. *Vide* गृहकोकिला, ब्राह्मणी.

हाडहडम् ind. immediately, hastily, hurriedly.

परिच्छिन्न हाडहडं—प्रायश्चित्त हाडहडं देशीपदमेतन् तत्कालमित्यर्थः शीयते—

—VM., part II, *Bhāṣyagāthā* 96, p. 30. *cf.* Guj. हाडहाड.

हाण्डिका f. same as हण्डिका.

ततो विकुर्वितकटकलोकाः प्रभोः पादयोर्मध्येऽग्निं प्रज्वाल्य हाण्डिकां संस्थाप्य पचन्ति १४॥

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 6, leaf 131. *cf.* Guj. हांसी, हांछी.

हेल a vocative particle.

होला इति देशीभाषातः समवया आमन्वयते यथा 'लायनं कोड रे हेल्ल' ति—

—SKC., leaf 225. *Vide* होला.

हेवाक m. habit, practice.

आरभटवृत्तिलक्षणहेवाको वा सिंहः—

—SA., *Adh.* IV, *Udd.* 4, leaf 276;

यथा काचिद् वधूः स्वकुलगृहस्य-स्वकीयपितृगृहस्य-सम्बन्धी यः परिचयः रमणीयवस्तुदर्शन-
हेवाकस्तेन अध्वरधान् आदिग्रहणेन हस्त्यादीन् . प्रेक्षमाणा सती 'वार्यते'...मा भूद्
अस्या प्रसङ्गतः परपुरुषविषयोऽप्यवलोकनहेवाक इति ॥—

—BKK., Vol. II, p. 389;

एवमपि यदि न तिष्ठति ततोऽतिष्ठन्ती गृहान्निष्काशयते, मा भूदपरासामपि गृहमहेला-
नामस्याः प्रसङ्गजनित एवैविध एव कुहेवाक इति कृत्वा ।

—*Ibid.*, p. 389. *cf.* Guj. हेवा.

होइ m. ? a wager, a bet.

'पणिण्डि' ति पणितैः—व्यवहारैर्होइदिभिरित्यर्थः—

—JDA., p. 96. *cf.* Deśī डुइ, डुइ, डुइ; Guj. Hindi होइ.

होला a vocative particle.

होला इति देशीभाषातः समवया आमन्वयते यथा 'लायनं कोड रे हेल्ल' ति—

—SKC., leaf 225. *Vide* हेल्ल.

LOTHAL—A PLACE-NAME

By

R. N. MEHTA, Baroda

The present note intends to discuss the meaning of the term 'Lothal', which is a place-name, now very famous due to the archaeological activities carried out at this site.

It is very well-known that this site yielded Harappan remains and hence the name of this place is being explained as "The Mound of the Dead" from the first part of the name. This meaning is very convenient to an archaeologist in India as another site that of Mohenjo Daro has the same meaning. Thus similarity of excavated materials apparently led to the thinking of identity of meaning, but the word 'lothal' requires careful consideration for establishing the meaning.

As already noted above the meaning "Mound of the Dead" is derived from the name 'lothal'. This compound can be split up in its components 'lotha' and 'al'. Out of these components, the former term 'lotha' has one of its meaning 'dead body'. Taking this meaning of the first part of the term, the second part should give the meaning "Mound", but no amount of work gives this meaning. The words for mound in Gujarati are 'tekro', 'tīrbho', 'dhaḍo', 'moio' etc. All these terms are absent in the word 'lothal', hence the meaning "Mound of the Dead" has no basis in the meaning of the term. So further efforts are necessary to establish the meaning of this place-name.

As already noted above, the first part of the word is the term 'lotha', and one of the colloquial meaning of it, is a 'corpse', but this seems to be a derivation as there are many other meanings. This term 'lotha' lothā, has the following meanings, according to the Gujarati dictionaries:

'A stud of Sorghum', 'to bite', 'to get tired', 'Useless thing', etc. and other derivations of the word 'lothadi' is 'plough share'. Out of these meanings, that giving that sense of tired requires further consideration. When an individual is extremely tired usually the expression "lotha thai javum" is used. Here the sense of being dead or death is never hinted, but the term for dead bodies is 'lotha paḍavī', that means a 'lotha' has fallen. Here the term is more allegorical rather than giving the certain meaning. The terms for dead body are 'Maḍadu' 'Śaba', 'lāsa', usually for the human corpse whereas the term 'qhāqhar' is used for a carcass. Here these terms are used in the sense of "Dead body" and they do not possess any other meaning.

Thus it is clear that the term 'lotha' for the 'dead body' is rather allegorical, but when referred to the derivation of this term it seems to refer to the Sanskrit root √ 'loṣṭ'. This root has the meaning 'to heap up' and hence the name 'loṣṭa' derived from this root is used to signify 'a clod of clay' or 'any heap'. This meaning is preserved in most of the terms used in Gujarati, the plough-share that breaks the earth into clods is lothaḍi, the dog-bite which takes out a lump of flesh is indicated by the term 'lotharū levū'. The term for tired also indicates that the individual is tired to such an extent that he has become a veritable heap. When a dead body lies like a heap, it is known as 'lotha paḍī' or 'lotha pāḍī'. Thus all these terms are derivations of the meaning of 'heap'.

Thus the meaning of the term 'lotha' seems to be a heap, which is surviving in the term lothal. The later part of this term 'al' could be explained in two different ways.

One of the meaning is the indicative of possessing the particular quality, and is very well-known in the words like "Dayāl", "Mayālu" or "Māyālu" etc. If this meaning be accepted, the term would indicate that the full meaning of lothal will be 'of the heap or mound'. In the other meaning of the term 'al' is taken to represent a shortened form of 'Pallī', that is a village. This term comes as a latter part in many place-names in Gujarat. If this meaning is accepted the term would mean "A small village on a mound". The above discussion indicates that the term lothal is better explained either as "of the mound" or "A small village on the mound". This meaning has further support of the local topography. The area is the plain of 'Bhāl'. 'Bhāl' is used to denote a marshy land which has the capacity to retain moisture for a long time. In this flat, water ridden area a small mound would be a sufficiently important geographical feature to attract attention and give it an appropriate name, "lotha", and a flimsy habitation on it will be known as lothal.

This discussion, thus, clearly indicates that the lothal does not seem to mean "Mound of the Dead", but its meaning seems to be "A village on the Mound" or "of the Mound". Further investigation is, therefore, necessary before we accept the meaning the Mound of the Dead "for lothal".

IDENTIFICATION OF KING JAITUGI

By

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H. D. Sankalia and S. C. Upadhyaya have edited a stone inscription dated Śaka 1188, deposited in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 127 f. The original findspot of the record is not known, but it must have been some place in the island of Bombay or its neighbourhood. The inscription is much abraded, but the editors have shown that its object was to record a gift of land to a Brāhmaṇa named Vāideva, a Jyotishī, during the reign of king Jaitugi, who is mentioned therein with the titles *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Rāyapitāmaha* and *Koṅkanachakravartī*. The date of the record is somewhat uncertain, but the editors have read it as Śaka-saṁvat 1188, the cyclic year Kṣhaya, Māgha vadi 15, Budha, which they have shown as regularly corresponding to Wednesday, the 26th January A.D. 1266.

Supposing the date to be read correctly, the question of the identification of this king Jaitugi arises. Three different views have been put forward in this connection—

(1) He was a king of the Śilāhāra dynasty. In support of this view it has been pointed out that the titles of Jaitugi are like those of the Śilāhāras. The Śilāhāra king Someśvara, whose stone inscriptions dated only six or seven years before (i.e. in Śaka 1181 and 1182) are also deposited in the same Museum, is described in them as *samasta-rāj-āvalī-samalankṛta-Mahārājādhirāja-Koṅkanachakravartī*, which is identical with the description of Jaitugi in the present inscription, with the addition of *Rāya-pitāmaha*.^{1a}

But as against this it is pointed out that Hemādri mentions Someśvara as the last king of Koṅkaṇa, who was drowned in a naval encounter with the Yādava king Mahādeva. Secondly, no name like Jaitugi is met with in the genealogy of any branch of the Śilāhāra family. Nor can we accept the suggestion of the editors that Jaitugi, perhaps a son or descendant of Someśvaradeva, may have reigned in Koṅkaṇa for a brief period during the closing years of Mahādeva's reign when there was confusion in the Yādava kingdom;² for there is no evidence of any such trouble during the reign of Mahādeva. We have inscriptions ranging in dates from Śaka 1187 to 1190 from such distant places as Kolhapur,³

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 297 and pp. 280-81.

^{1a} The *Virūḍa Rāyapitāmaha* was assumed by Anatadeva. See his Khārepātan plates, *Ind., Ant.* Vol. IX, pp. 33 f.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 128.

³ Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, No. 366.

Chitaldurg District,⁴ and Bijapur District,⁵ which show that Mahādeva's authority was recognised in those parts of the country. Jaitugi does not therefore appear to be a king of the Śilāhāra family.

The second view is that Jaitugi was a governor of Koṅkan, appointed by Mahādeva.⁶ This view also is not likely to be correct. No governor would assume such imperial titles as *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Koṅkaṇa-chakravartī*. If he did so, he would receive short shrift.

The third view is that Jaitugi may have been a Yādava king; for the name occurs in the genealogy of the Yādavas.⁷ This view also is unacceptable; for in the period to which the inscription refers itself, there was no Yādava king of this name, ruling in Mahārāshtra or Koṅkan. We know indeed that there was a Yādava king of that name, but he ruled more than sixty years before the date of the present inscription. He was a son of Bhillama and ruled from *circa* A.D. 1193 to A.D. 1200. Another prince of that name, who was a son of Siṅghana, did not come to the throne as he predeceased his father. So Jaitugi mentioned in the present inscription is not a king of the Yādava dynasty.

Who was then this Jaitugi, ruling in Śaka 1188 with imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Koṅkanachakravartī* in the country of Koṅkana? He was evidently a ruler of North Konkan; for no ruler of any other province assumed this title. I tentatively put forward the suggestion that he was a ruler of Māhim, one of the suburbs of Bombay. That there was a ruler of Māhima exercising his authority in North Konkan is known from the Purushottampurī plates, of the Yādava king Rāmachandra, which mention the latter's victory over him.⁸ He is described in the plates as the ruler of Māhima of great prowess. This shows that notwithstanding Mahādeva's victory over the Śilāhāra king Someśvara, Yādava authority had not spread over the whole Konkana territory. The king of Māhima had not submitted to the Yādavas and was ruling in defiance of them, assuming imperial titles. He may previously have been a feudatory of the Śilāhāras, but after their overthrow he seems to have declared his independence and assumed the same titles as the Śilāhāras. It seems that some of the officers of the Śilāhāras took service under this king Jaitugi of Māhima. Two of the Officers mentioned in the present inscription were previously serving the Śilāhāra king Someśvara. They are (1) *Mahāsāndhivigrahī* Māi-nāyaka, who is evidently identical with *Mahāsāndhivigrahī* Māi-nāku mentioned in the stone inscription of

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, p. 125.

⁵ *A.R. A.S.I.* 1930-34, p. 209.

⁶ *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. V, p. 193.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 129.

बृधुनरमहिमा माहिमेन्द्रः परास्तः ।

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 211.

Someśvara, dated Śaka 1182⁹ and (2) Śrīkaraṇi Chandaprabhu, who is probably not different from Śrīkaraṇi Chandaprabhu mentioned in another stone inscription of the same Śilāhāra king, dated Śaka 1181.¹⁰ That the preamble of the present inscription should be the same as that of Someśvara's inscription, dated Śaka 1181, is also not surprising; for both the records were probably drafted by the same officer or clerk who was previously serving Someśvara and who after his overthrow, took service under king Jaitugi of Māhima. Kingdoms may rise and fall, but the secretariat continues to be the same. We have analogous instances in other records of the ancient period. After the Chandella king Trailokyamalla overthrew the Kalachuri king Vijayasimha, he issued the Dhureti plates.¹¹ The Chandellas use the Vikrama era in dating their records, but this grant made by Trailokyamalla is dated in the Kalachuri era. It was evidently drafted by some officer or clerk in the secretariat of the former Kalachuri king Vijayasimha. He has not only used the Kalachuri era with which he was familiar, but has also used some epithets in describing the Chandella king which were previously applied to the Kalachuris of Tripurī viz. *Vāmadeva-pād-ānudyāta*¹² and *Aśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-trayādhipati* (i.e. the Overlord of the three Rājas, viz. those of horses, elephants and men)¹³ Another instance of the same type occurs in the records of the princes of Karkareḍī. These princes were previously feudatories of the Kalachuri Emperors of Tripurī. In describing them they used the epithets *Trikaliṅgādhipati* and *Vāmadeva-pād-ānudyāta* which are usually met with in the records of the Kalachuris. When Trailokyavarman overthrew the Kalachuris of Tripurī, the rulers of Karkareḍī transferred their allegiance the Chandellas. Notwithstanding this, when Kumārapūlavarman of Karkareḍī issued his Rewa plates in which he had to describe his Chandella suzerain, the drafter of the grant used the epithets *Trikaliṅgādhipati* and *Vāmadeva-pād-ānudyāta* in describing the Chandella Emperor.¹⁴ In the present case also the drafter of the inscription of king Jaitugi of Māhima has used the same formula in describing his master which he was accustomed to use in drafting the records of Śilāhāras of North Koṅkaṇa.¹⁵

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 129 and Vol. XXIII, p. 280.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 129 and Vol. XXIII, p. 279.

¹¹ *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, 369 f.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 371. For the meaning and significance of this, see *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, p. 39 f.

¹³ *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 371. See also *ibid.*, pp. c f.

¹⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 230 f.

¹⁵ Compare समस्तराजावलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधिराजरायपितामह कोकणचक्रवर्तिश्रीजैतुगि-देवकल्याणविजयराज्ये inscription of Jaitugi (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 129) with समस्तराजावलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधिराज कोकणचक्रवर्तिश्रीमत्सोमेश्वरदेवरायकल्याणविजयराज्ये in the inscription of Someśvara, dated Śaka 1181 (*ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 279).

So king Jaitugi of the stone inscription dated Śaka 1188 was in all probability the ruler of Māhima. We have unfortunately no information about the ruling family of Māhima. There is indeed a chronicle called *Mahikavatichī* (or *Māhimachī*) *Bakhara*, but it is useless for historical purposes; for not a single incident mentioned in it can be corroborated by any other evidence.¹⁶

¹⁶ See Prof. A. D'Costa's article 'Historical Value of Indian Traditions' in the *Nibandha-saṅgraha*, Bombay Itihasa Samśhodhan Mandal Series, No. 9, pp. 43 f.

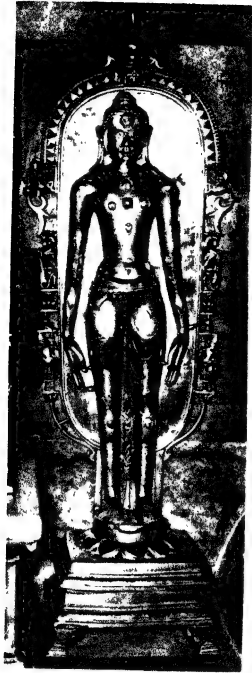


Figure 1
Rṣabhanātha Simandharaswāmī Temple, Ahmedabad.
Dated V S. 943

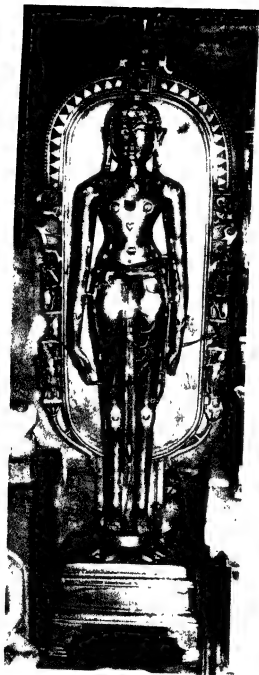


Figure 2
Another Rāṣaḥanātha from same Temple, Ahmedabad
Dated V S. 943

TWO JAINA BRONZES FROM AHMEDABAD

By

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Figures 1 and 2 illustrate two Jaina bronzes, now in worship in the Simandhara-svāmī temple, Doshivādāni pol at Ahmedabad. The two bronzes are noteworthy both for their age as well as for their style.

The two bronzes are placed on two sides of central stone sculpture of Pārśvanātha. Both can be identified as representing the first Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Rṣabhanātha (also called Ādinātha), on account of the hair-locks falling on shoulders. Each bronze is about 3 ft. in height, placed on a pedestal. The Jina in each case is standing on a full-blown inverted lotus and has behind him a big oblong halo reaching below his ankles, where it terminates into a rectangular metal plate inserted into the pedestal. The halo in each case has a cut border on top below which are two *makara mukhas*, rampant mythical-lions (vyālas) and at the lower end of the haloes, two attendant *cāmaradhara yakṣas*.

Figures of the Tīrthaṅkaras show long slim legs covered by a lower garment and a *parjasaṭka* with typical folds, characteristic of some early bronzes and sculptures from Gujarat and Rajasthan, e.g. cf., the two standing Jina figures cast by Śivanāga and obtained from the Vasantagaḍh hoard,¹ dating from 687 A.D.

There are inscriptions on the pedestals of both these bronzes from Ahmedabad, which give a date, Saṃvat 943=886 A.D. Most of the inscriptions are defaced and illegible on account of constant washing and cleaning during worship. But the saṃvat year is quite clear and verified by us.

The haloes do not seem to be of the same age as the inscriptions as can be seen from the modelling of the figures of the attendant *cāmaradharas* which seem to date from circa eleventh or twelfth century A.D. The shape of the haloes is peculiar and hardly found in Western Indian bronzes. Obviously, these haloes were recast after the model of some earlier haloes which might have been mutilated.

Also peculiar is the modelling of typically slim long legs and torso of Fig. 1 and of the legs of Fig. 2. The somewhat stunted torso of Fig. 2 is of course not without its parallels in W. India. Figures with such long slim legs are very uncommon in Western India. One example at least is known of a Sūrya image of about tenth century A.D. in a small shrine near Cambay—Nagarā. This could be due to outside influence in Gujarat.

¹ Shah, U. P., Bronze Hoard From Vasantagaḍh, Lalitakalā, No. 1.

The two bronzes are of course interesting early specimens of the ninth century A.D. and it would be better if estampages of the partly legible inscriptions are taken before they are totally rubbed off in course of time.

Jaina shrines in Ahmedabad have preserved some important specimens of bronze art, one of which, representing a big standing figure of Ajitanātha, dated in V.S. 1110=1053 A.D. was published long ago by N. C. Mehta and reproduced again by U. P. Shah (in his *Akota Bronzes*, Fig. 73A).

A systematic survey of inscribed and dated Jaina bronzes like these, still in worship in Jaina shrines, is long due. Often these inscriptions give valuable information regarding the original place where they were (cast and) installed, the artist who cast them as well as names of well-known donors and Jaina monks. Two big standing Jaina bronzes in a shrine at Achalagaḍh originally came from Sācor in Mārṇād as can be inferred from the inscriptions on their pedestals.²

² Muni Jayantavijaya, Śri Arbuda-Pracīna-Jaina-Lekhasandoha, Inscriptions nos. 465-466.

A 'N-NŪRU' S-SĀFIR AS A SOURCE FOR THE HISTORY OF GUJARAT

By

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The Arabic-speaking people had developed a taste for historical writings from early times and for this reason, their literature is replete with works dealing with history, travels, biographical notices, etc. Being one of the widely travelled people and also curious by nature, these people had a thirst for knowing things. Their writings, therefore, contain a mine of information on varied subjects dealing with different countries then known to them among which India, on account of its close relations, occupies a prominent place. Of such works, those dealing with biographies of learned people arranged chronologically, alphabetically, subject-wise or in various other ways are extremely useful to students of history. For they not only give biographical data about their subject, but also provide ample material for the political as well cultural history in its varied aspects and, above all, throw a good deal of light between the relations of India, particularly some of its regions like Gujarat and Deccan with the countries of the Middle-East.

A section of this biographical literature is one, wherein notices of important people and events are given in chronological sequence, that is to say, year-wise or in alphabetical order. There are a large number of books which come under this section but we may mention here only a few which are of interest in view of the information they give regarding India. Of these, there are *Inbā'u l-Ghūr fī Abnā' l-Ūmr* and *A' d-Durāt l-Kāmina fī ay'dnī l-Miyāt* *th-Thāmina* dealing with eminent persons who died in the eighth century Hijra corresponding to fourteenth century A.D., by the famous author and scholar of his time, Ibn-i-Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī. The first is arranged chronologically and the other alphabetically. The next in the series is *A'd-Da'u'l-Lāmi' li ahl'l-Qarn'l-Tāsī'* by Ḥāfiz Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Saḥḥāwī dealing in alphabetical order with the eminent personalities of the ninth century Hijra corresponding to the fifteenth century Hijra or the sixteenth century A.D. have been dealt with chronologically in the *A'n-Nūru's-Sāfir 'an Akhbār'l-Qarn'l-Ashir* of 'Abdu'l-Qādir al-'Aidārūs who wrote it in Ahmedabad itself. Likewise there are works dealing with these or subsequent centuries but space does not permit us to go into the details thereof at present.

The author of *A'n-Nūru's-Sāfir*, Shaikh Abū Bakr Muḥyud-Dīn 'Abdu'l-
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Qādir al- 'Aidarūs of Ahmedabad belonged to a prominent learned family of Yaman. His father Shaikh a'l-'Aidarūs had come to India in 1551 A.D. to finally settle down, first at Broach and subsequently at Ahmedabad where his tomb may still be seen on the Relief road a little further than the Krishna Cinema. 'Abdul Qādir, himself a saintly and much respected person, was born at Ahmedabad in 1570 and had received instruction in religious, sufiistic and like sciences from a host of eminent teachers both Indian and foreign. He was a prolific writer having to his credit a score of works in Arabic dealing with various branches of Islamic sciences like Quranic studies, Mysticism, Dogma and Scholastic theology, History and Biography, pure literature etc.

But to us of immediate and at the same time immense interest is his above-mentioned work on Biography and Chronology, *A'n-Nūru s-Sāfi 'an Akhbār il-Qarn il-'Āshir* dealing in chronological order with the biographical notices of men who had distinguished themselves as men of letters and learning, with political and social events and with some natural phenomena and curious happenings that lived or took place in the tenth century Hijra or sixteenth century A.D. in Islamic countries particularly in southern Arabia and India. The information covered by the book relates to the initial year 1495 and ends with 1'91 A.D. — a complete century of lunar era. It is not intended nor is it possible in this short paper to describe the absorbing and varied information contained in the book, which describes events of different nature. On one hand it gives brief biographical accounts of learned men, saints, kings and grantees, while on the other, which is more interesting and somewhat unusual, with events of natural occurrence like the shooting stars, appearance of Comets draughts, floods, appearance of locusts etc. Here we shall not concern ourselves to the events that occurred elsewhere in India or other countries but to those that happened in Gujarat. Part of the information regarding political affairs is to be found in other works dealing with pure history like the *Mi'āt-i-Sikandari* and Hajjī Dabū's Arabic History of Gujarat, but the author gives some further information particularly the exact dates and some matters of details which are not found elsewhere.

Among the events recording the demise of eminent learned men and grantees of Gujarat, the first is one that speaks of the death on the 20 Ramadān A.H. 916 (A.D. 1510, December, 21) of Sultan Mahmūd I. Other historians give the year A.H. 917. In his account, we get the interesting information copied from an Arabic writer Ibn Fahd that Mahmūd I has caused to be constructed at Mecca, near the Bābu' l-Madīna (Madina Gate), a *Rabāt* or a madrasa-cum guest-house which was called *Al-Kambātiyya* after Cambay. Lessons were imparted there and teachers and other attendants appointed to run the institution. The Sultan also used to send large amounts in charity with pilgrims that went

to Mecca but discontinued it on being informed that the persons incharge at Mecca misappropriated the money. About three years later, died an eminent theologian and jurist, Muḥammad al-Misī, generally known as Ibn Suwaid. His profound knowledge of religious lore, particularly the Traditions earned him the title of *Maliku' l-Muḥaddithīn* or Prince among the Traditionists, the first of its type to be conferred in Gujarat, from Mahmūd I. The savant enjoyed so much favours from the Sulṭān that even the grandees of the capital respected him and his house became the haunt of persons in need. He also used to send presents to deserving people in Mecca and Madina. Ibn Suwaid was likewise respected by Mahmūd's successor, Muẓaffar Shāh II who, afterwards, at the instigation of a certain minister curtailed certain stipends. He had a daughter in Cairo but he had adopted a son in Ahmedabad, after the fashion of the people in India and his property was inherited by him. Then there was another scholar of international reputation Jamālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad known as Bahraq who was well versed in grammer, literature, philology, etc. He was the author of a number of books on these arts as well as on tradition, mysticism, arithmetic, medicine, astronomy etc, and wielded a facile pen both in prose and verse. He came to Gujarat in the time of Muẓaffar II who became an ardent admirer of his and accorded him great respect. In his account, the author relates a curious story of how a magician who contrived to sit in air in the assembly of a minister was brought down on earth by Bahraq through his spiritual powers. The author also tells a story of how a minister who did not like the scholar and insulted him had to suffer consequences of the scholar's prayers against him and had again to approach Bahraq. This great scholar died on the 20th Shaban A.H. 930 (A.D. 1524, June, 23). In the account of Muẓaffar Shāh who died in A.H. 932, (A.D. 1525-26) the author gives the interesting information that the Sultan was not only a just ruler but was a talented and accomplished person fond of learned men. He was a good calligraphist and used to transcribe copies of the Qur'ān of which one he had sent to Madina. Death came to him while he was performing his prayers. The year A.H. 938 (A.D. 1531-32) witnessed the arrival of the two guns *Lailā* and *Majnūn* which were brought by Mustafā Bahrām who, under the title Rūmī Khān figured prominently in the history of Gujarat and later earned disgrace for his complicity in the defeat of the Gujarat Sultan Bahādūr Shāh at the hands of the Mughal emperor Humāyūn. Incidentally, the books contains useful information about the efforts made by the Sultāns of Turkey to curb the growing power of the Portuguese in the middle east and to prevent them from consolidating their strong hold in the ports in the middle-east as well as in India. It may be recalled here that there is still to be seen at Junagadh a beautiful cannon which was according to its inscription, cast in A.H. 937 in Egypt under the orders of the Turkish

Sultān, specifically to fight the menace of the Portuguese threatening to enter India.

In the year A.H. 941 (A.D. 1534-35) took place the death of Mullā 'Imād Tārimī who had come from Persia. His father was a merchant who had come to Gujarat in connexion with trade and was greatly impressed by the miraculous powers described in detail by the author, of the famous saint Shāh 'Ālam. Mullā 'Imād arrived at Ahmedabad only after the death of the saint to meet whom he had undertaken the journey. He was particularly well-versed in intellectual sciences and among his pupils were Shāh wajīhu' d-Dīn and Qādī 'Tsā both of Ahmedabad who in their turn were great savants and much sought out teachers. The next year *i.e.* A.H. 941 (A.D. 1534-35) saw Bahādur Shāh's defeat by Humāyūn and our author also attributes the defeat to the treachery of Rūmī Khān. The author gives the exact date namely, the 30 Ramaḍān of A. H. 943 (A. D. 1537, March, 12) on which Bahādur Shāh was killed at the port of Diu by the Portuguese. In the account of the death of a great scholar Ḥafīz Abū Muḥammad 'Abdu' r-Rahmān a'sh-Shaibānī which took place in A. H. 944, (A. D. 1537-38) we are told that his father had left zabīd in south Arabia in A. H. 866 (A. D. 1461-62) and was not heard of for some time he ultimately died at Diu in A. H. 876 (A. D. 1471-72) and the scholar received eight *dinārs* as inheritance. In the year A. H. 951 (A. D. 1544-45) at Ahmedabad died Shihābu'd-Dīn Ahmad al-Ḥalabī who was originally a merchant but ultimately gave up his business and took to scholarly pursuits, and came to Ahmedabad. For the death of Sher Shāh, the Sūr king, who died in A. H. 951 (A. D. 1544-45), the author quotes a chronogram in Arabic. On the 24th Rabī' II of A. H. 953 (A.D. 1546, June, 24) was killed Khwāja Saif al-Salmānī, entitled Khudāwand Khān, a noble of Gujarat renowned for his bravery munificence and benevolence alike. The next event relating to Gujarat described by the author pertains to year A. H. 955 (A.D. 1548-49) in which the great minister Āsaf Khān who had taken the inmates of the Royal harem and the royal belongings to Mecca when Sultān Bahādur was overpowered by Humāyūn returned to India. Āsaf Khān had stayed in Mecca for ten years and after his return, again acted as minister to Maḥmūd III until he was martyred on the night of 13th Rabī' I A. H. 961 (A.D. 1554 February, 16). The author gives some interesting information about the minister's career, particularly during his stay at Mecca. His munificence and lavish gifts to the people of Mecca-so much so that they could even clad their servants in costly textiles-recalled to the mind of the author's informant, the days of the proverbial munificence of the Abbasid caliphs and family of Barmak. He is stated to have spent about one hundred and fifty chests of gold during his de-

cade's stay at Mecca. Sultān Maḥmūd III was also killed on the same night and according to the author, during his time, Dīu finally passed into Portuguese possession. In the same year, four other rulers passed away: Salīm Shāh of Delhi, Burhān Niṭām Shāh of Ahmadnagar, Bāyazīd of Turkey and Sultān of Mecca. In the following year—A.H. 962 (A.D. 1554-55) died Humāyūn after a fall and the author quotes the famous Persian Chronogram for the death. In the year A.H. 963 (A.D. 1555-56) Yāqūt Sultānī entitled Ulugh Khān returned to Surat from Viramgam in a wounded state and died subsequently. In the same year, we are told eminent Arabic scholars and poets like Shaiḫ Abu's-Sa'ādāt, Shaiḫ 'Abdu'l-Mu'tī Bākathīr Khafīb Abu's-Sa'ādāt and 'Abdillāh 'Irāqī migrated from Ahmedabad to Surat with their families and settled there. On the 27th Ramadān A.H. 966 (A.D. 1559, July, 3) Malik 'Imādu'l-Mulk of Broach was killed alongwith some of his retinue including Mustafa Qirmānī entitled 'Aidāl Khān by the Surat governor Rajab Khudāwand Khān, son of Khwāja Saḥar and in the following year when Ahmad Shāh III was also killed, Chingīz Khān attacked Surat to revenge his father's death. In his first attack, he burnt the city wall, devastated the city and impoverished and imprisoned its inhabitants but returned after Rajab had offered peace. Again in the next year Chingīz Khān invaded Surat, demolished a portion of the *Kot*—this local word is used by the author—, harassed the residents of Surat and Rander particularly the merchants before he returned to Broach in Ramadān of the said year. We are also told how Rajab in the meantime contrived to escape from the fort and went to the Portuguese territories—evidently Daman, but ultimately reaching, on the 20 Sh'bān, Ahmadabad where about four months later, on the last day of Dhul-Qa'da, he was killed by Bijli Khān, Aghā Khudāwand Khān as one of the best nobles who was endowed with physical beauty as well as fine personal qualities. He was endowed with a generous disposition, was humble in behaviour and evinced keen interest in the promotion of learning and patronage of learned men so much so that Surat in his time became the seat of learned men and scholars, traders and merchants, brave men and the like. Its prosperity and trade attracted a variety of commodities of merchandise which were exported in ships to countries like Egypt. People at large lived in peace and security. Any stranger who visited Surat would receive from him suitable allowance and the same was the case with outgoing people. But Rajab's last days were marred by melancholia which was the result probably, of his addiction to intoxicating drug—Hashish, which ultimately caused his downfall.

In the year A.H. 971 (A.D. 1563-64), the author's father, Shaiḫ al-'Aidārūs, himself a reputed saint constructed a mosque at Surat two years later,

a ship of the minister Muhammad Ulugh Khān left for Mecca. It was named by a renowned Ship-master Hasan 'Alawān but sank on the way. Among those drowned were the famous jurists Muhammad bin Afsh al-Makkī who was also a poet, and Muhammad a'z-zaibādī. In Rajab A.H. 974 (A.D. 1567 January-February), the recitation of the Sahihū'l-Bukhārī a compedium of the sayings of Prophet Muhammad was completed in the presence of the said Ulugh Khān by Qādī Jamālu'd-Dīn al-Mahāimī and the occasion was celebrated by a grand feast given by the minister. In the same year, the author's father left Broach to finally settle down at Ahmedabad where he was accorded a warm reception by the elite including ministers. In the account of the year A.H. 976 (A.D. 1568-69), the author refers to the great minister Mirzā Shamsu'd-Dīn who was in charge of Ahmedabad for some time but in the end fell victim to tyranny. The account of the year A.H. 978 (A.D. 1570-71) in which the author was born contains his autobiography and a list of the works composed by him till the date of writing of this particular work in A.H. 1012 (A.D. 1603-04). In the next year, the author's father built a house at Ahmedabad while referring to Akbar's conquest of Gujarat in A.H. 980 (A.D. 1572-73), the author gives a brief account of his career and a chronogram for the date of his death. In the same year, the recitation of the Ihyā li 'Ukum'd-Dīn of Imām Ghazzālī was completed at the house of author's father. In the year that followed, a ship of the author's father which was named al-'Aidarīsī was lost while on its way from Shīhr, a port in South Arabia to Diu and all the persons belonging to noble families travelling by it drowned. The same year witnessed Akbar's quick march to Gujarat to set right the disturbances that had taken place there. In the year A.H. 984 (A.D. 1576-77), died a great scholar Shaiḫ Jamālu'd-Dīn Muhammad 'Amūdī at Ahmedabad on the 30 Shawwāl. In the same year, Sidī S'īd Sultānī the Abyssinian, the builder of the world famous mosque at Ahmedabad passed away. The author gives some interesting information about him which is not to be found elsewhere. He was a profoundly learned man in theology and other branches of knowledge and knew the whole Qur'ān by heart. He used to finish Qur'ān five times in his Ramadān prayers. He was held in great respect by the Abyssinian nobles. His love for men of letters as well as his quest for learning was great. When he went for pilgrimage to Mecca, he attended the lectures of the celebrated master Shaiḫ Ibn Hajar al-Haitamī. He was a great collector of books which were obtained even from far off countries like Egypt. The author also supplies the interesting information that when he died he was first buried in the compound of his mosque, but was later on buried by the sides of Shaiḫ 'Abdu'l-Mu'tī Bākathīr. In the next year, i.e. A.H. 985

(A.D. 1577-78), the *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī* was completed at the house of the author's father. In the events of the year 986 (A.D. 1578-79), the author mentions the demise and gives particulars of the life of another traditionist and reformer of Gujarat of international repute, Shaiḫ Muḥammad Tāḥir of Patan in north Gujarat. In the year A.H. 987 (A.D. 1579-80) died Shaiḫ Nūru'd-Dīn 'Alī al-Yaḥ'ī, a scholar who was highly respected by Muḥammad Ulugh Khān. Among the events of the year A.H. 988 (A.D. 1580-81), the author mentions the death of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur at the hands of one of his slaves and the learning of the Qur'ān by heart by Rāja 'Alī Khān Fāruqī, king of Khandesh, in old age. The year A.H. 989 (A.D. 1581-82) saw the passing away of Shaiḫ 'Abdu'l-Mu'tī Fākathir, originally from Mecca, at Ahmedabad at the age of 84. He was a great poet and writer. The author in addition to a large number of his verses composed on various occasions, has also quoted a fragment giving the date of occupation of Ahmedabad by Chingiz Khān in A.H. 975 (A.D. 1567-68). In the same passage the author digresses to refer to the city of Ahmedabad and its Sultans. It is also interesting to note that our author calls the last Gujarat Sultan Muzaḥḥar III a son of Maḥmūd III. In the A.H. 989 (A.D. 1581-82) Qutb Shāh of Golconda died. In the same year Shaiḫ Muḥammad al-'Aḍarūs an uncle of our author came to India. On the 25th Ramadān of A.H. 990 (A.D. 1582, October 13), the author's father expired at Ahmedabad and was buried in the courtyard of his house. The author has given an account of his career including his literary activities. In the same year died the celebrated ṣādiḥ s-Sūdūr of emperor Akbar's court, Shaiḫ 'Abdu'n-Nabī, who according to our author, was strangled to death in prison at the instigation of the emperor, after the latter had failed to get him disposed off by murder and poison. This piece of information regarding the manner of the Shaiḫ's death is not to be found in other works and is extremely important. In the same year died Shaiḫ Qutbu'd-Dīn, originally from Patan, at Mecca. He was a great writer. In Sha'bān A.H. 991 (A.D. 1583, August/September) Muzaḥḥar III retook Gujarat and reigned for about six months. In A.H. 992 (A.D. 1484), died Shaiḫ Shihābu'd-Dīn Ahmad al-'Abbāsī al-Misrī at Ahmedabad at the age of 90. He was a great scholar well-versed in arithmetic, astronomy etc. Another scholar and a prolific writer to die in the same year was Abu's-Sa'ādāt al-Fākihī originally from Mecca. He came to Gujarat twice, second time in A.H. 960 (A.D. 1553) and finally settled there. About his generosity, it is said that there was not a single person coming from Arabia who was not helped by him. In the very year passed away Ḥakīm Shihābu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd a's-Sindī who was a

great physician of his time. The author has related a curious story illustrating the extraordinary powers of the physician. It is said that *Sultān Maḥmūd III* received from a king some valuable presents which included a beautiful slave-girl whom the king gave away to a minister. But before the minister could have anything with her, the physician happened to feel the pulse of the girl and said that whoever touched her would die. The physician's diagnosis was put to test and to the bewilderment of everybody, it proved to be correct. The physician then explained that her mother in her pregnancy was fed on poisonous herbs and this girl was sent to the Sultan to ensure his death by these means. The author then refers to the prevailing Indian custom of sending such girls to kings whose deaths were desired by the sender and explains the way in which they were gradually fed on poison. While relating the demise of a Meccan scholar in A.H. 993 (A.D. 1484-85) the author mentions his pupil *Shaykh* Aḥmad al-Buskarī as having been the author, among the other works, of a treatise on Coffee. This writer died at Ahmedabad in A.H. 1009 (A.D. 1600-01). On the 5th Muḥarram of the same year A.H. 993 (A.D. 1481, December, 28), Muhammad Ulugh Khān died in Bengal. He had succeeded his father Yaqūl Ulugh Khān in the title and ministership of Gujarat on the latter's death and went to Agra after Akbar's conquest of Gujarat. He was first posted at Gwalior, then in Bihar and was one of the nobles who were assigned to Bengal. The author also refers to the despatch of a force by Akbar to help Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar in A.H. 994 (A.H. 1585-86) and its failure. While mentioning the death in A.H. 996 (A.D. 1587-88) of Muḥammad a's-Samāqandī at Medina, the author says that he knew besides Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Abyssinian languages, an Indian language. The author also describes in the events of this year, the deposition of Murtadā Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar on 16th Rajab and his death three days later, accession of his son Ḥusain who was killed by the *Ḥurāsānī* faction after sixteen months, coming to throne of Ismā'il, son of Burhan, who ruled for two years and two months and Burhān's again coming to the throne on the 4th Rabi' II A.H. 997 (A.D. 1589, February 10) the author left Ahmedabad for Broach where he stayed for fourteen months after which he went to Surat on the 30 Rajab A.H. 998 (A.D. 1590, May, 25). On the 18th Jumāda I of the same year the construction of the tomb of his father was started. In the Rajab of the same year, the author completed one of his books details of which are given. The year A.H. 998 (A.D. 1589-90) witnessed the demise of author very learned man of Gujarat, *Shāh Wajihu'd-Din al-'Alawī*. In that very year was born a son to the author who was named *Shaykh* after his grand father's name. In the year A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590-91), was completed the building of the tomb of his father. The author left Surat on the 20 Safar A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590, December, 8), and

went to Cheul now in Kolaba district and after staying there for five months went to Ahmadnagar where he arrived in Shā' bān of the same year. Having stayed there for about fifteen months, he returned via Cheul, Diu and Morbi to Ahmadabad on the 4th Rabi'II A.H. 1001 (A.D. 1592, December 29), after an absence of full four years. Among the happenings at Ahmadnagar, the author refers to the decline of the Mahdawīs there after the murder of their leader Jamāl Khān, the minister, on the 14th Rajab A.H. 999 (A.D. 1591, April, 28), and the re-installation of Burhān Nizām Shāh who died on the 31d Shā' bān A.H. 1003 (A.D. 1595, April, 3). It was in A.H. 1001 (A.D. 1592-93) that Burhān sent a force to West Danda Rajpuri from the foreigners, presumably the Portuguese but did not succeed in his object. Burhān Nizām Shāh is also reported to have ordered the demolition of the city of Ahmadnagar and construction of a garden in the year when he died. In the year A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590-91), Sayyid Abdur-Rahīm al-Ḥasānī, Muhammad Bā Sharaḥil of Ḥaḍr Maut and Yahyā al-Madanī died at Golconda. Of these the last mentioned was well known for his profound knowledge of music. In the year A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-92) died Shākh Jamālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥashībārī, a much respected saint, at Ahmedabad.

The above is a brief resume of the information contained in the *A'n-Nūru's-Safir* about the learned men, kings, grandees and political events. Apart from these, the author has put on record quite a few occurrences of nature but these mostly relate to Aden, Zabid etc. in Southern Arabia. A few occurrences of this type in Gujarat, noted by the author which will be of some interest may be referred to here. In the year A.H. 901 (A.D. 1495-96), there arose a severe storm in the Indian Ocean—Arabian Sea which sank ten vessels loaded with commodities in the port of Diu while four vessels had to jettison more than half of their loads. In A.H. 905 (A.D. 1499-1500) a huge halo appeared round the sun in the afternoon of a particular day. The same year also witnessed a huge shooting star which shot off from east to west illuminating the whole world. In A.H. 975 (A.D. 1567-68), a ship carrying ten Bā 'Alawī Sayyids from Southern Arabia to Gujarat sank in the Gulf of Cambay, drowning all the passengers. In A.H. 978 (A.D. 1570-71), a certain tank at Ahmedabad overflowed and its water came out leaving it completely dry. In the same year, blood was seen in author's tank at Ahmedabad. In the year A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573-74) Ahmedabad witnessed a severe gale and dust storm which darkened the atmosphere. It was followed by lightning and thunder but little rain. In A.H. 990 (A.D. 1582-83) locusts appeared in Gujarat. One Shāh Fadlullāh composed a chronogram for it in the words *Muntashar* meaning scattered. In this connexion the author relates a curious story that in about those years a certain saint from Balkh came to

Gujarat with the intention of proceeding to Mecca for pilgrimage. He was accompanied by a large number of disciples, which caught the imagination of a certain witty writer who framed the phrase '*Jā a'l-Malakh 'min Balkh*' (i.e. A herd of locusts has come from Balkh). The last such event described in the book is that in A.H. 998 (A.D. 1589-90), the city of Surat experienced an earth-quake.

ECHOES OF GUPTA HISTORY IN SANSKRIT DRAMAS

By

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In the early stages of Ancient Indian Historical Studies, it appeared that the imperial Gupta monarchs were practically unknown to contemporary or later Sanskrit literature. In the historical sections of the Purāṇas, there was a bare mention of the Gupta dynasty, but none of the Gupta emperors had been mentioned by name nor any events of the period of their rule, were recorded. The reference in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* to Candragupta's successful coup against the Śaka ruler¹ was too cryptic to throw much light on that event. Quite unexpectedly fragments of a lost Sanskrit drama—the *Devicandraguptam*—came to light in the twenties of this century in the form of quotations in the *Nāṭya-darpana* of Rāmacandra and Gunacandra and the *Sarasvatikāṇṭhābharana* of Bhoja,² and have brought to light a new Gupta King, Rūmagupta whose historicity has not yet been recognised at all hands.

However, much more interesting, important and varied information has been supplied by four Sanskrit monologues (*Bhāṇas*), the *Padmaprābhṛtaka* of Śūdraka, the *Dhūrtavītasamvāda* of Īśvaradatta, the *Ubhayābhisārikā* of Vararuci, and the *Pāṭatāḍitaka* of Śyāmilaka.³ While these monologues have literally illuminated the social, economic and religious history of the Gupta age, they also supply some information having important bearing on the political history of the period. There are several passages in these plays which contain clear reminiscences of the reigns of the Gupta emperors Kumāragupta I and his son Skandagupta.

(1. *On Kumāragupta I*)

In the *Ubhayābhisārikā* we come across the following statement :

भगवतोऽप्रतिहतशासनस्य कुमारपुरपुरन्दरस्य भवने पुरन्दरविजयं नाम राज्ञीनकं यथागन्तानि-
नयमाननेतव्यमिति देवदत्तया सह मे पणितः संवृत्तः ।

Here we have an obvious reference to Kumāragupta I. It is quite well known

¹ *Viz.* कामिनिवेशगुप्तश्चन्द्रगुप्तः शकपतिमशातबद्ध ।

² Credit for bringing these extracts to light goes to Prof. Sylvan Levi and Dr. A. S. Altekar who discussed the importance of the extracts in JBORS, XIX. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar also wrote a paper in the *Mālavīya Commemoration Volume*.

³ These four *Bhāṇas* were discovered and published by Messrs M. R. Kavi & S. K. Ramanatha Sastrī under the title of *Caturbhāṇi*, in 1922. A much improved and annotated edition has been brought out by Dr. Moti Chandra & Dr. V. S. Agrawal with an illuminating introduction, under the title *Śṛṅgārāhāṭa*.

that Kumāragupta bore the title of *mahendra*. On his coins we have the following legends containing this title :

श्रीमहेन्द्रः, श्रीअश्वमेधमहेन्द्रः, क्षितिपतिरजितो विजयी महेन्द्रसिंहो दिवं जयति, गुप्तकुलव्योमशशि जयत्यजेयोऽजितमहेन्द्रः, गुप्तकुलमलचन्द्रो महेन्द्रकर्माजितो जयति, अजितमहेन्द्रः, साक्षादिवनरसिंहो सिंहमहेन्द्रो जयत्यनिशं क्षितिपतिरजितमहेन्द्रः कुमारगुप्तो दिवं जयति, and *Mahendrakumārah*. Thus on a majority of the coin types the *birud Mahendra* is engraved. This points out to the popularity of the name. It is well known that Purandara or Indra is also known as Mahendra. So it is obvious, that the *Kusumapura Purandara* of the monologue is no other than Kumāragupta I who resided in Pātaliputra. The passage *inter alia* informs us that dramatic performances accompanied by music and dance were arranged at the King's palace.

(2. On Skandagupta)

The following verse occurring in the *Pādatāḍitaka*, apparently describes the achievements of a character named Bhadrāyudha, but in reality is an echo of the achievements of Skandagupta as described in his Bhitari Stone Pillar inscription. The verse in the monologue is as follows :

येनापरान्तशबलबभूवभूपतीनां
कृत्वा शिरःसु चरणं चरता यथेष्टम् ।
कालेऽभ्युपेय जननीं जननीं च गङ्गा-
मार्दिकृता मगधराजकुलस्य लक्ष्मीः ॥

“By whom acting at will, having placed his feet on the heads of the rulers of the Western Coast, Śāka region and Mālava, and having at the (proper) time be— taken himself to his mother and the mother Ganges, the might (royal fortune) of the Magadha royal family was made known (in the world)” The ideas expressed in this verse lie scattered in the following two verses of the Bhitari Stone Pillar inscription .

(1) विचलितकुललक्ष्मीमनम्मनायोयनेन
क्षिणितलशयनीये येन नीता जियामा ।
समुदितबलकोपान्पुण्यमित्राश्च जित्रा
क्षितिपचरणपीठे स्थापिनः वामपादः ॥

“By whom, while exerting to stabilise the fortune of the family which had lost its firmness of hold, a night was passed on bare ground , and having conquered the Puṣyamitras whose army and treasury had been augmented, placed his left foot on the foot-stool (in the form) of Kings.”

and (2) पिनरि दिवमुपेते विभुतां बल्लक्ष्मीं
भुजबलविजितारिषः प्रतिष्ठाप्य भुयः ।
जितमिति परितोपमानारं सास्त्रनेत्रां
हतरिपुरिव कृष्णः देवकीमभ्युपेतः ॥

“Who, when his sire had reached the heaven, having firmly established the royal glory of his house, which had been overwhelmed, (and) having conquered his foes by the prowess of his arms, approached his mother whose eyes were filled with tears on account of the satisfaction that victory has been attained, just as Kṛṣṇa who had slain his enemies had approached Devakī.”

There is a close parallelism of thought between the first half of the verse quoted above from the *Pādatāḍitaka* and the second half of the first verse from the *Bhitarī* inscription, and also between the second half of the verse from the *Pādatāḍitaka* and the second half of the second verse from the *Bhitarī* inscription. It does not appear to be a chance coincidence. The mention in both cases of the hero going to his mother to report the news of victories which established the prestige and the glory of the royal house, seem to point out to the same historical event, and obviously the writer of the play seems to have been fully acquainted with the details of events which took place in the reign of Skandagupta. The reference to the Ganges in the monologue has a special significance. It is intended to point out the return of the hero to the imperial capital, Pāṭaliputra, which was situated on the Ganges, and also to allude to the close link between one's mother and the river Ganges which for every devout Indian is virtually a mother.⁴ It should suffice to dispell any doubts regarding the true social status of the mother of Skandagupta for whom she was as sanctifying as the sacred Ganges.⁵ The word *kāle* occurring in the verse from the *Pādatāḍitaka* has been purposely introduced by the playwright. It means in course of time, when the victory had been achieved, and is intended to convey the same idea as is contained in the words *jitam-iti*. Lastly the line *aviṣkrīṭā Magadharājya-kulasya lakṣmī* of the play has, more or less the same import as *vipulām vanśa-lakṣmīm pratiṣṭhāpya bhūyah* of the *Bhitarī* inscription. The royal house of Magadha is obviously the Gupta dynasty and manifesting of its glory evidently means the assertion of its political supremacy after the overthrow of its enemies. The author of the play, has, in this manner given clear proof of his intimate knowledge of the important events in the career of Skandagupta.

3. *Kumārāmātya*

Another flash of light thrown by these dramatic compositions dispells the obscurity with regard to a much discussed administrative title, viz. the *Kumārāmātya*. This word has become known to us only from the inscriptions of the Gupta and subsequent periods of ancient Indian History, and has not been traced in Sanskrit literary works nor in Sanskrit lexicons. Consequently there has

⁴ c.f. रा त्वमम्ब ग्नुष्यासा सानुध्यानपराभव । Bhavabhūti, *Uttararāmacarita*, II.

⁵ Doubts have been expressed regarding the social status of Skandagupta's mother by Drs Barham & P. L. Gupta, BSORS, XVII, 368-69 and JIH, XL, 247. For the refutation of these views see our forthcoming article in the JIH.

been a very wide divergence of opinion with regard to the exact nature of this title. Fleet rendered it as 'prince's minister'.⁶ But this rendering became untenable on the discovery of the Basarh and Bhita seals some of which had the legends such as the following:

१. युवराजपाटीयकुमारामात्याधिकरणस्य ।
२. परमभेदरक्षपाटीयकुमारामात्याधिकरणस्य ।
३. महाश्वपतिमहादण्डनायकविश्वरश्मिनादानुगृहीतकुमारामात्याधिकरणस्य ।

From these sealings as well as the Damodarpur copper plates it became clear that the Kumārāmātyas were officers holding high administrative posts and were not exclusively the ministers attached to princes of the blood royal. This fact was recognised long ago. Dr. T. Bloch, while editing the Amana Plate of Mahārāja Nandana, remarked as follows: "Its correct explanation in Sanskrit appears to be:

Kaumārādārābhyā amātyah 'One who has been in the service of the King from the time when he was a boy'.⁷

However the word has continued to be misunderstood and it is worth while to take due notice of the evidence that helps to dispell the misunderstanding. The following passage from the Pādātāḍitaka throws ample light on the nature and functions of this officer:

एव राज्ञे तया वृद्धिर्वा सद्य विवाशर्थं गन्वा कुमारामात्याधिकरणाशमच्छमि इति ।
कथं भवन्ते जयेन वर्तमानः उताहोस्विन दण्डसाहच्येन सम्भावयामः ॥ ४

Here we get a reference to a judicial dispute in which a person is being questioned by his friend as to whether he has won the suit or has been punished with a fine. This clearly shows that in certain cases the Kumārāmātya presided over courts of justice. This evidence therefore confirms the view that it is incorrect to regard Kumārāmātya as the minister of a prince. As the inscriptions indicate, he performed various functions. He was sometimes a minister of external affairs, as in the case of Hariṣena.⁸ He could be a Commander-in-Chief as also a Councillor, as in the case of Pṛthvisena.¹⁰ He could be the officer in charge of a District, as we find in the Damodarpur Copper Plates.¹¹

⁶ CH, III, 10n.

⁷ Epigraphia Indica, X, 50 f. n. 2.

⁸ Śrngārahāja, 213.

⁹ Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudtagupta.

¹⁰ Karmadāndā Lingam Inscription.

¹¹ Epigraphia Indica, XV.

A NOTE ON ANCIENT INDIAN SACRED PROSTITUTION

By

KIRIT L. MANKODI, Poona

§1. Since N. M. Penzer wrote on sacred prostitution in India in an appendix to the first volume of his edition of *The Ocean of Story* (1924), and, once again, in an essay of the same title in his book, *Poison-damsels and Other Essays in Folklore and Anthropology* (1950), no independent study has been brought out on the subject. This want is felt all the more keenly when the wider importance of such a study is realized; for sacred prostitution is not a phenomenon peculiar to the Indian society, but is one that is found in the religious organizations of diverse "higher" and "lower" cultures. —The present paper, however, is not such an exhaustive study. Here, I wish to present some references to sacred prostitution which I think take the earlier date of that institution in India farther back in historical times than that of which students are generally aware. I shall not occupy myself with discussing the provenance of this institution any more than is essential, because its prevalence over a large part of ancient and modern India has been demonstrated by the earlier studies to which I shall refer in detail later on. Again, I shall not discuss the origin of the practice of religious prostitution, that is, try to explain the earliest occurrence of this phenomenon on the religious and sociological planes. —And this for two reasons. First, religious prostitution is not a uniquely Indian phenomenon, as I have just remarked, and therefore cannot be studied in itself, without reference to its occurrence in other religious complexes. This would call for a comparison between all its instances, tracing the earliest datable instances, determining migrations or several origins in diverse cultures and in the case of migrations determining the sources, etc., and establishing a most generally valid explanation of it, if such could be established. But this belongs to a different branch of study, that of the comparative history of religions. And second, a study of religious prostitution is not exhausted anyway when account has been taken merely of the prostitute in the temple. The religious attitude from which this phenomenon derives cannot adequately be understood unless other customs in which elements connected with this phenomenon participate, such as copulation and sexual licence in certain rites, are studied. It may be found as a result that many of these customs converge into one general religious meaning.¹ —And

¹ For such a study, see Gonda "Ascetics and Courtesans" *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, XXV (1961), practically the whole article, 78-102; but especially 89-102. (In this case, that meaning is the ancient Indian people's concern for all-round fertility.)

this, again, is a study in religious phenomenology; which is apart from the more modest purpose of the present paper.

§ 2. The earliest direct mention of a temple prostitute that Penzer could find was in the A. D. 1004 inscription of Rājārāja, the Coja, in the Bṛhadiśvara temple at Tanjore, which recorded that that temple had four hundred "women of the temple", Tamil *talicheri-poṇḍugal*, attached to it.² One more, slightly later, reference came from a story in Somadeva's *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* (about 1070), in which a courtesan is spoken of as going to the temple to perform her duty.³ Ghoshal, in his chapter in *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, 'Social Conditions', has given three more references, one in a Bayana inscription of 955, a second in the account by the Arab writer Abū Zaid (916) and a third from Medhātithi's commentary on the *Manu-smṛiti* (825-900).^{4, 5}

§ 3. Now to take up my references:

§ 3.1. The Lokeśvara-Virupaksha temple at Pattadakal, of about 740, caused to be built by the elder queen of the Western Cālukya Vikramāditya, II Lokamahādevī, contains a later inscription written during the Rāstrakūta occupation of Pattadakal, in about 780. The inscription records a religious donation made by a harlot of the temple, when Dhārāvāsa was the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler.⁶ The Lokeśvara is a Śiva temple.

§ 3.2. The *Vaikhāṇasaśāgama* of Marīci, a theological treatise belonging to the South Indian Vaikhāṇasa cult of Vaiṣṇavism, of a date not later than the seventh-eighth century, contains the next few references to temple dancing-girls.⁷ Chapter the 44th, entitled the chapter on "Ghatikāvidhi", "Rules of *Ghatikā*

² Penzer, 1924, 247; 1950, 146. Hultsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, II III (not available to me).

³ I shall have more to say in this connection in a subsequent note, no. II.

⁴ 379, 390.

⁵ A critical and detailed bibliography of the more important of the studies on sacred prostitution in India is appended to this article. I regret that in order to economise on space I cannot provide a detailed bibliography for all the literature referred to in this article.

⁶ J. F. Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions", *The Indian Antiquary*, XI (1882), 125.

⁷ For the early date of the *Vaikhāṇasaśāgama*: T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I 55, who dates the oldest such texts to about 5-6 cc. and, 56, calls *Vkh* perhaps the oldest of the Vaiṣṇava *śāgamas*, Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, 261 ("on the whole, [*Vkh*] has been assigned a date not later than the eighth century A.D."); Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, *Les enseignements iconographiques de l'Agni-purana*, 19 ("l'Āgama le plus ancien . . . —VII^e siècle env. ?"); Louis Renou and Jean Filliozat *L'Inde classique*, etc. I §1289 ("Le texte le plus ancien du genre, du moins sous sa rédaction en prose"—without assigning any specific date however). (My friend, Mr M. A. Dhaky, who has looked into the chapters on temple architecture in this text, conveyed to me his opinion that on the basis of these chapters *Vkh* does not seem to be earlier than the ninth century.)

[-wise Rites]”, contains, besides such instructions, also those for the *bali* oblations to the images and for the various services (*upacāra*) of Viṣṇu. The dancing-girls are mentioned in connection with the *bali* ceremony; thus in 44 § 1:

Tatkāle devagaṇikādevadāsīḥ samāhūya nṛtamaṇḍapa madhye maṇḍalamupalipyāpsarāmścāvāhyābhyarcya tānapsarah⁸ smṛtvā prokṣya puṣpaṁ datvā tairnṛttageyaṁ ca kārayati |

At that time [—at the time of offering the *bali* to Viṣṇu, in the morning, noon and evening respectively—] [the *teacher] calling the *devagaṇikās* [and] *devadāsīs* together, and invoking the *apsarasas*, worshipping [them], contemplating the *apsaras*, sprinkling [water], offering flowers [to the *apsarasas*], causes them [—the *devagaṇikās* and *devadāsīs*—] to dance and sing.

§ 3.3. Chapter the 47th, entitled “Ekabherācanāvidhi”, “Rules for Worship with a Single Image”, describes the procedure of worship in a temple which has got only one main image (the alternatives being nine, six and five images), and also the nine grades of worship. §2 of this chapter contains:

Dvātriṁśadvigrahairācanam devagaṇikābhir-devadāsībhirbhaktaīśca nṛtagayasamṣyuktaṁ tattadgāyakaścakāravādardurādyaḥ saṁyuktaṁ prātaḥ prabodhanaghoṣam snānakāle havirdāne balidāne paṭoddharāne balibharamanakāle śaṅkhabheryādighoṣaṇam naṭikābhirnaṭanam saptaprākārasaṁyuktaṁ sarvaparsadadevārcanamuttamottamam |

The very best (*uttamottama*) [worship of Viṣṇu] [comprises] worship with the thirtytwo services accompanied by dancing [and] singing by the *devagaṇikās*, *devadāsīs* and devotees; the awakening sound (*prabodhanaghoṣa*) in the morning with different singers, flutes, *Kālāra* (-instrument) s [?], drums (*dardura*), etc.; blowing conch-shells [and] beating kettle-drums at the time of the bath, at the [time of the] fire oblations (*havis*), at the [time of the] food oblations (*bali*), at the [time of the] lifting up of the curtain [from in front of the image], [and] at the time of moving the food oblations around [the temple]; dancing by the dancing girls (*naṭikā*); [and] worship of all the subordinate divinities installed in the seven enclosures (?)

§3.4. This occurs in the same passage as does the last one, namely in 47§2, and specifies the equipment of a lesser worship than that of the last reference:

Avatārānām dvikālānivedanam dīpaṁ cājasradipaṁ guṇasandhyādīpaṁ⁹

⁸ The text of *Vkh* contains many such errors of grammar, which have got to be corrected for any coherent reading. I acknowledge the help of a friend, A. P. Jamkhedkar, in this regard.

⁹ I cannot at the moment explain the diverse names of the lamps, and so I leave them untranslated.

prātarmadhyāhnaṇoḥ śataṁ rātrau trīṁśacchatam śraddhādīpam devadāst-
bhiraṇikābhīśca nṛttagēvādyairiyuktam prātarmadhyāhnaṇorannabali-
yutam pañcaprākārāyatasthām devārcaṇam madhyamottamam /

The second-best (*madhyamottama*) [worship of Viṣṇu] [comprises]: offerings (*nivedana*) twice [a day] to the *avatāras*; the lamp, and the perpetual lamp (*ajasradīpa*), the *guṇasandhyā* (?) lamp; in the morning [and] noon one hundred [and] at night one hundred and thirty *śraddhā* (?) lamps; accompanied by dancing, singing [and] playing musical instruments by the *devadāsīs* and *devaṇikās*; accompanied by food oblations in the morning [and] noon; [and] worship of the divinities situated on five enclosures.

§3.5. The rest of the passages from *Vkh* do not name the temple dancing-girl; the presence of dancing-girls, however, is implied in them, particularly as they are to dance and sing in the *nṛttamaṇḍapa* as we have seen, in 44§1 (out §3.2). Chapter the 7th, “*Prāsādagopuraparśadāvidhi*”, “Rules for [Building] the *Prāsāda*, *Gopura*, [and Establishing] the *Parśad*”, §4, says that a great hall (*mahāmaṇḍapa*) shall be made in front of the (newly construct d) temple, and continues:

Tattatpramukhe tathaiva nṛttamaṇḍapamāgneyādikonesu tathavāsthāna-
maṇḍapam kārayet/

Also the dancing-hall on the faces of the great open hall [and] in the south-east etc. quarters the assembly-hall (*āsthānamanḍapa*) shall be made.

In 7§5, again, subsidiary shrines, *parivārālayas*, of the temple of Viṣṇu with its parts, are mentioned.

parivārānāmālayam pacanālayapuspasañcayasnānodaśapāṇīyasāhānam
nṛttamaṇḍapam ca...ārabhet/

the houses of the surrounding [divinities], the cooking-house, the [place of the] collection of flowers, the water-place where the water for the bath is stored and the dancing-hall [shall be] commenced.

Chapter the 29th, “*Pātraparicchedāśaṁskāravidhi*”, “Rules for Preparing¹⁰ the Utensils, Garments, etc.”, in the course of a description of carrying the *rakṣādīpa* (?) to the temple, says in §5:

Nirājanapātraṁ kṛtvā pūrvavat pātrasaṁskārahomaṁ kṛtvā pātraṁ
saṁskṛtya tatpātre tadādhāre gṛhṭena tailena vāpi varīyutam dīpam śubhrā
jyotīti sandīpya dīkpiṇḍārthaṁ hāridracūrnayutamannena daśapiṇḍaṁ
pañcapaṇḍaṁ vā muṣṭimātraṁ drāḍhataraṁ kṛtvālābhe¹¹ksatapuspaṁ vā
gandhadravyaṁ] ca prthak prthak pātre saṅgrhya deveśaṁ sampūjya

¹⁰ For my preference for *saṁskāra* = an act of preparing rather than for the more usual “sacrament”, see J. Gonda, “*The Simantonnayana as Described in the Gṛhyasūtras*”, *East and West*, Year VII, no. 1, April 1956, 12, also 28, note 2.

śaṅkhadhvānīyutaṁ sarvavādyaiḥ stotrairdhvanighoṣairyajamāno vā
dāsībhirvā śirasādhārayan śanaigatvālayam praviśya . .

Making the vessel for the waving of lamps (*nīrājanapātra*), preparing that vessel having performed the oblation for the preparing of the vessel as earlier, lighting a lamp in that vessel as its support, in ghee or oil [and] with a wick, [uttering the *mantra*] *śubhrā jyoti* etc. ; making ten hard balls or five balls, of the size of the fist, of rice mixed with powdered turmeric ; if short [of this] collecting unhusked barley [and] flowers, for the *dikpiṇḍa*, and fragrant substances, each separately in a vessel [or: each in a separate vessel] ; worshipping the god of gods to the accompaniment of the sound of the conch-shells ; bearing [the *nīrājana* vessel] on the head of the patron (*yajamāna*) or the *dāsī* to the accompaniment of the sounds [and] shouts [arising out] of all the musical instruments and chants, gradually going [toward and] entering the temple . .

§ 3.6. The next reference is from the third Book of the *Viṣṇudharmottapurāṇa*, a sixth-seventh century north Indian treatise discussing in this Book such subjects as the canons of music, painting, sculpture and architecture¹¹. Chapter the 117th, "Yatrāvidhi", dealing with the auspicious days for the *yātrās*, festive processions, of Vāsudeva and other gods ; with the worship of Vināyaka and *grīhas nāgas* and other semi-divine persons, bathing of Śrī-bhagavat (or other gods as the case may be) and other preliminaries for the *yātrā* ; with the process of the *yātrā* itself and its paraphernalia ; with the calamities following upon damage to the paraphernalia ; etc., says in § 1 :

¹¹ Edited by Miss Priyabala Shah, *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa Third Khaṇḍa*, Volume I (Gaekwad's Oriental Series no. CXXX), and Volume II (*sic*) (Gaekwad's Oriental Series no. 137 (*sic*')) for the date, provenance etc. see her edition, Vol. I, Introduction, pp. xix-xxvi. The mention of a temple dancing-girl in a north Indian text is particularly important. The earliest reference to sacred prostitution that Penzer could find came from the south (1924, 247; 1950, 146), and from the south too did come the bulk of such evidence of any date. The earliest direct mention of the institution that he could find in northern or central India was in the Chinese traveller Chau Ju-Kwa's work, *Chu-fan-chi*, of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (1924, 241, 1950, 140), which said that there were twenty thousand dancing-girls in four thousand Buddhist temples of Gujarat. The courtesan of a story, the "Story of Rūpiṇikā", in the *Kathā Sarit sāgara* of Somadeva (*Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, a Kashmirian compendium of about 1070, and based on its part on another such compendium, the *Bṛhat Kathā* of Guṇāḍhya, with a mythical history of its own), who at the time of worship goes to the temple to perform her duty, and is finally, at the end of the story, made by the king a "free woman" so that she could live with her beloved (husband) Lohajāṅgha, might be understood to have been a *devadāsī*. See Penzer, *Ocean*, I, 138-149, for an English rendering of the story, 1924, 231, and 1950, 131, for his conjecture of Rūpiṇikā being a *devadāsī*. It may be noted, incidentally, that in the *Chu-fan-chi* religious prostitutes in Buddhist temples are mentioned. References to Buddhist temple prostitutes are rare, I believe, when compared to those for Hindu temple prostitutes. For one more reference to Buddhist temple prostitutes, see Bhagwānlāl Indrajī, "An Inscript-

Dvītyādivasādārabhya yāvat sāmāthyam pratyaham natanartakanartakimallaindrajālīkādinām prekṣāpūrvakam dhanam dadyat/

Beginning on the next day [from the day of the yātrā] [and] every day as long as [one is] capable [of it] gifts shall be made to the actors, dancers (nata), dancing-girls (nartakī), acrobats, jugglers, etc., having watched them [perform].

Again, the same text at a different place says, “*nṛttavādyagītāiśca śrī-bhagavantamarcayet*” “Śrībhagavat shall be worshipped with dancing, playing of musical instruments and singing”. 114 § 1 says, “*śrībhagavantam gītavādyanṛttaissamahyarcayet*”. Śrī-bhagavat shall be worshipped with singing, playing musical instruments [and] dancing”. 115 § 1 says, “*devāgāre gītanṛttavādyapustakāśravaṇe tiṣṭhet*” “ [the yajamāna] shall stay (tiṣṭhet) in the temple to listen to the singing, dancing, musical instruments, [and reading out of the religious] books ”.

—None of these passages names a temple dancing-girl as such, and the references that follow the first one speak only of *nṛtta* along with *gīta* and *vādyā* and never even speak of a *nartakī* as the first one does. But the fact, however, that the *nartakī* is mentioned in a temple rite, namely the *yātrā* and the consequent *mahat-utsava*, and that the *nṛtta-gīta-vādyā* etc. are mentioned as taking place within the temple, may tempt one to understand the *nartakī* to be the temple dancing-girl, and the dancing in the temple to be *her* dancing.

§ 3.7. The last reference that we shall discuss here is from a Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra treatise, the *Paramasamhitā*. This is a south Indian work, and has been dated to about 2-3 cc. B. C. by its editor, Kṛṣṇaswami Aiyangar.¹²

tion at Gayā Dated in the Year 1813 of Buddha's Nirvāna, with Two Others of the Same Period”, *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X (1881), 341-347, especially 344, where he has edited a twelfth century Gaya inscription which speaks of these under the names of *bhāvinis* and *ceṣis*. See also D. C. Sircar, in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXV, part II, April 1963, 97-98, for the same.

¹² S. Kṛṣṇaswami Aiyangar, ed. and tr. *Paramasamhitā* [of the Pāñcharātra], (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, no. LXXXVI) 24 He dates *Ps* to about 2-3 cc B C on the following general grounds, namely (1) that *Ps* is a general manual of the Pāñcarātra and probably not one having reference to a particular temple; (2) that the *Dharma-sāstra* of Manu has a Pāñcarātra character, both that work and *Ps* laying down a course of life directed toward an ultimate salvation, and (3) that there is a close similarity between *Ps* and the *Bhagavad-gītā* as a Pāñcarātra manual F. O Schrader, *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnyā Samhitā*, 20, enumerates *Ps* among the twelve most eminent (and ancient) Pāñcarātra texts, and places it in time before the Pāñcarātra *Īśvara-samhitā*, which latter he dates to before 800. A. Govindacarya Svamin, “The Pancaratras or Bhagavat-sastra”, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* for 1911, 955-956, refers to the Pāñcarātra *Pādmatantra*, 4 33. 197 which calls *Ps* one of the six gems of the Bhāgavata (=Pāñcarātra) literature —if that is any indication to its early date. See also Schrader, *Introduction*, 20.

Chapter the 22nd, called "Yātrā", dealing with the two kinds of *yātrā* of Viṣṇu—that for bathing the image in a river and that for transferring the image from an old temple to one newly constructed—while describing the procession itself says:

Nānā vāditrakuśālān bahūmśca paricārakān |

Chatradhvaja vitānāmśca bherīpaṭahatālakān || 18

Śilpinaḥ sevakāmścāpi gaṇikā devadāsikāḥ |

Evametat samāniya [sic] muhūrte śobhane guruh || 19

The priest, at an auspicious moment, having brought together [musicians] skilled in various musical instruments, and many attendants, parasols, banners and canopies; the *bheris*, *paṭahas* and *tālakas*; the craftsmen, servants and courtesans [and] dancing-girls

...

In addition to this, *nṛtagītādi*, *nṛtagītāṭṭahāsa*, *nṛta gīta* and *gīta nṛta* are spoken of in connection with the *adhivāsana*, *sthāpana*, *yātrā* etc. of the image,¹³ which might refer to the dancing and singing of the *gaṇikās* and *devadāsikās* of our main reference.

§ 4. We have seen, thus, that references to temple dancing-girls go back from about 7-8 cc. A. D. to about 2-3 cc. B. C.—farther back than those otherwise known.

§ 5. Some of the texts quoted above call for special notes, with which I conclude this article.—The *Lokeśvara-Virūpāksha* temple at Pattadkal (discussed in § 3.1) is a *Śiva* temple whereas the *Vaikhānasāgama* and the rest of the treatises (discussed in § 3.2 onward) are generally *Vaiṣṇava*: the dancing-girls are present in both these major cults of Hinduism. We have seen already in note¹¹ that they are present in *Buddhist* temples too. The dancing-girls are to perform generally *thrice a day*, in the morning, noon and evening, when the *bali* is being offered to Viṣṇu (§ 3.2). In the 47th chapter of the *Vaikhānasāgama*, dancing, singing etc. of the *devadāsīs* and *devagaṇikās* is part of the paraphernalia in *all but the two lowest grades* in the nine-graded worship (—out of which only two grades are represented here, our § 3.3-4—); they are supposed to be essential to a complete worship, and it is only in the lowest kinds of worship that they (along with some other equipment) are dispensed with. One more function of the dancing-girls seems to be *carrying the lamp* for waving before the image toward the temple (§ 3.5) (—and other similar tasks, I take it). *Devadāśī* and *devagaṇikā* twice occur together (in our § 3.2-3); I do not know the difference between the two, if there is any, but perhaps both denote the temple prostitute.¹⁴ The *invocation to the apsaras* in the dancing-hall before the

¹³ In 18. 73; 19. 65; 22. 6 and 29, respectively,

¹⁴ Monier-Williams Sanskrit-English dictionary explains *devagaṇikā* as "deva courtesan,

dancing-girls perform is in its place (§ 3.2). Finally, dancing, singing, sounding musical instruments, blowing conch-shells etc., shouting ("jaya", etc.), laughing, possess beneficent and apotropaic character in many cultures. To this is due their taking place at religious and other important occasions.¹⁵

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography consists only of the more notable studies on the ancient Indian sacred prostitution, and is arranged chronologically.

Henry Yule, and A. C. Burnell; new edition ed. William Crooke, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive* (London, John Murray, 1903), collect evidence for sacred prostitution, mainly from the seventeenth century onward, under "Dancing-girl", "Deva-dāsi", etc.

Edgar Thurston, assisted by K. Rangachari, *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Volume II (Madras, Government Press, 1909), under "Dēva-dāsi", in which much information for contemporary temple prostitutes is offered, but also some for those of older dates.

N. M. Penzer, *The Ocean of Story being C. H. Tawney's Translation of Soma-deva's Kathā Sarit Sāgara (or Ocean of Streams of Story)*, Volume I (London, Chas. J. Sawyer Ltd., MCMXXIV), Appendix IV, "Sacred Prostitution", 229-280, presents evidence for *devadāsīs* from northern, central and southern India, from about 1004 upto recent times.

Johann Jakob Meyer, *Sexual Life in Ancient India: A Study in the Comparative History of Indian Culture* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., two volumes, 1930; reprinted two volumes in one, 1950), who, although he does not deal with temple prostitutes extensively, does offer important incidental information—see his index, under "Harlots".

(S. N. Sinha and N. K. Basu, *History of Prostitution in India [Ancient—Volume I]* (Calcutta, The Bengal Social Hygiene Association, September, 1933), who, however, do not offer much historical evidence for the early dates of the *devadāsīs*.)

James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, Part IV, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, Volume I (London, Macmillan and Co., Ltd.,

Apsaras"; but in our contexts this explanation is unlikely. The dictionary too lists this meaning under the category of words and meanings occurring in native lexicons but not so far found in any published text.

¹⁵ For the religious character of dancing, see J. Hastings, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. X, 361 (Right column);—music, IX, 5-6;—prophylactic use of bells, VI, 314L (left column), 315L. See also Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, General Index Volume, and abridged edition, indexes under "bells", "dance", "music", etc.,

third edition 1936) 61-65, who writes mainly on South Indian temple prostitution, but who also presents extensive documentary evidence on sacred prostitution in other ancient and modern oriental religions, for example on 65-78.

- N. M. Penzer, *Poison-damsels and Other Essays in Folklore and Anthropology* (London, privately printed for Chas. J. Sawyer, Ltd., 1952), the essay entitled "Sacred Prostitution", which is a revision and amplification of his earlier essay of the same name, 129-184.
- J. Gonda, "Ascetics and Courtesans", *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Volume XXV (1961), 78-102—the whole article may be recommended as an exercise in religious phenomenological interpretation.
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GARUDA-PURĀṆA AND AṢṬĀNGAHRDAYA

By

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The GP. (contains twenty one adhyāyas) on the diagnosis of the various diseases like fever, haemorrhage, cough, dyspnoea, hic-cough, pulmonary consumption, aversion to food, heart-disease, diseases resulting from the excess or abuse of wine, haemorrhoids, dysentery, diseases of the urinary organs, abscesses, ascites, chlorosis, crsipelas, cutaneous affections, bodily parasites, diseases of the nervous system, *vātaraktam* etc. The Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya (AH.) of Vāgbhaṭa also treats the diagnosis of the same diseases in its section named *nidāna-sthāna* (adhs. 1 to 16) in the same order. Both the texts run parallel and the general frame of the text is the same. There are many variations, however, and on a comparison of the readings, it seems that mostly the readings of the Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya fit in better with the context, many a time the readings in both the texts are possible. Sometimes the GP. has some modifications, some readings seem to have changed due to scribal error and only in rare cases the GP. improves upon the text of the Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya. There are many variants where it is difficult to determine which is the original and which is the borrower and here a comparison of the original mss. of both the texts is a desideratum. While bringing out a critical edition of the GP., one should bear in mind the importance of the Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya, the comparison of which will throw fresh light in determining the exact reading.

In the following pages an attempt is made to examine ten adhyāyas of the GP. (adh. 146-155) by comparing them with the corresponding six adhyāyas (1 to 6—Nidāna-sthāna) of the Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya. In the absence of mss. evidence and critical editions, it is difficult to determine which exactly is the borrower but on the basis of a comparison of the readings, a conjecture may be hazarded that the GP. seems to be the borrower. Dueto limitations of time and space, it has not become possible to examine all the twenty one adhyāyas of the GP., but an investigation may be carried over on the same lines for the rest of the adhyāyas in future.

The adhyāyas of GP. and AH. begin in different ways. This is quite natural in view of the fact that each has to put the matter suiting its own context. Thus e.g. the GP. (adh. 146) begins with

धन्वन्तरिदवाच—सर्वरोगनिदानञ्च वक्ष्ये सुश्रुत तत्त्वतः ।

आत्रेयाद्यैर्मुनिवरैर्यथा पूर्वमुच्यते ॥ ग. पु. १४६.१.

whereas the AH. (adh. 1) reads as

अथातः सर्वरोगनिदानं व्याख्यास्यामः ।

इति ह स्माहुरात्रेयादयो महर्षयः ॥ अ. ह. १.१;

similarly

धन्वन्तरिवाच—वक्ष्ये ज्वरनिदानं हि सर्वज्वरविबुद्धये । ग. पु. १४७.१.

and

अथातो ज्वरनिदानं व्याख्यास्यामः ।

इति ह स्माहुरात्रेयादयो महर्षयः ॥ अ. ह. २.१.

अथातो रक्तपित्तस्य निदानं प्रवदाम्यहम् । ग. पु. १४८.१;

अथातो रक्तपित्तकासननिदानं व्याख्यास्यामः ।

इति ह स्माहुरात्रेयादयो महर्षयः ॥ अ. ह. ३.१

अथातः श्वासरोगस्य निदानं प्रवदाम्यहम् । ग. पु. १५०.१;

अथातः श्वासहिष्मानिदानं व्याख्यास्यामः ।

इति ह स्माहुरात्रेयादयो महर्षयः ॥ अ. ह. ८.१.

Many adhyāyas which are separated by the GP. after giving them independent titles as related to the topics that are discussed therein, are combined together by the Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya and are treated under a general heading. Thus the GP. (adh. 148-149) treats *raktapitta* and *kāsa*, whereas these two topics are treated by the AH. in the same adhyāya (3), similarly the GP. adhs. 150 and 151 treating 'śvāsa' and 'Hikkā' are included in the same adh. (4) in the AH. and the adhs. 152, 153, 154 of the GP. treating *yakṣmā*, *arocaka* and *hṛdroga* are treated under the same adhyāya (5) in the AH.

The GP. states—

हिकारो गनिदानं वक्ष्ये सुभ्रत तच्छृणु । ग. पु. १५१.१;

the AH. does not begin the diagnosis of hic-cough after giving a specific statement as done by the GP. but includes its treatment under the treatment of dyspnoea, the same adh. 4 is continued. The GP. (152-1) says—

अथातो यक्ष्मरोगस्य निदानं प्रवदाम्यहम् ।

the AH. reads

अथातो राजयक्ष्मानिदानं व्याख्यास्यामः ।

इति ह स्माहुरात्रेयादयो महर्षयः ॥ अ. ह. ५.१.

The GP. begins the diagnosis of aversion to food with the statement 'arocakanidānam te vakṣyēham suśrutādhunā' (153-1), whereas the AH. does not constitute it as a separate topic and therefore, without making a separate clarification includes it under the treatment of *Rājayakṣmā*. Similarly the GP. treats the heart-disease in a separate adhyāya (no. 154) beginning it with the words

हृद्रोगानिनिदानं ते वक्ष्येऽहं सुश्रुताधुना । (ग. पु. १५४.१);

wheres the AH. includes it under the treatment of *Rājayakṣmā* (adh. 5), the GP. (adh. 155. 1) begins with

‘कथ्ये मदात्ययादिनिदानं मुनिभाषितम् ।’

the AH. begins as

अथातो मदात्ययादिनिदानं व्याख्यास्यामः ।

इति ह स्माहुरत्रियादयो महर्षयः ॥ अ. इ. १. १.

Thus when the adhyāyas are not separated naturally the headings also are given in the body of one adh. by the AH. Thus e.g., the AH. adds ‘*Iti madātyayani-dānam*’ after 6.23, ‘*atha madanidānam*’, (AH. 6.25), ‘*iti madanidānam*’ after AH. 7.30, ‘*atha mūrchanidānam*’ after AH. 6.30, ‘*iti mūrchanidānam*’ and ‘*atha sannyaśanidānam*’ after 6.35; ‘*iti sannyaśanidānam*’ after 6.39.

Now follows a comparison of the variants of both the texts in their respective order, from various points of view. Many a time the texts show a change of words without significant change in the meaning. Thus

GP. 148.8 ‘*iti saṃjñītaḥ*’, AH. 1.7 ‘*abhisamjñītaḥ*’

GP. 146.16 ‘*abhiyoga*’, AH. 1.15 ‘*atīyoga*’,

GP. 146.20 *viruddhādyaśana*, AH. 1.19 reads *virrudhādhyāśana*

here both the readings are possible as the GP. says that eating incompatible meals is a factor in bringing a disease, whereas the AH. says that taking stale food or food which is on the point of getting spoiled gives rise to a disease.

The GP. 146.23 reads ‘*duṣṭāmānnaḥ*’, the AH. 1.22 reads ‘*duṣṭānnāt*’ the GP. 147.8 reads ‘*yathā svaliṅgam saṃsarge jvarasāṃsargajo’pi vā*’, the AH. 2.23 reads ‘*yathāsvaṇṇaṃ līṅgasāṃsarge jvaraḥ saṃsargajoh api ca*’, the GP. 147.9 reads ‘*dehadāha*’, ‘*kaṇḍvāśya*’, ‘*saṃbhrama*’, ‘*pavanāt*’, whereas the AH. 2.24 reads ‘*dāhamoha*’, ‘*kanthāśya*’, ‘*trṣṭbhrama*’, ‘*ca calāt*’. The GP. 147.10 reads ‘*śīroṣṭikṣiṇāśvāsabāhukāśavivarṇāḥ*’ and ‘*bhramitandrāḥ*’, the AH. 2.25 reads ‘*śīroruk piṇasaśvasana kāśavibandhāḥ*’ and ‘*bhramatandrā*’. The GP. 147.12 ‘*timiranidrā*’, the AH. 2.27 ‘*māhānidrā*’, GP. 147.13 ‘*hiprakṛteha*’, AH. 2.28 ‘*atī vikṛteha*’, GP. 147.14 ‘*mūrdha*’ AH. 2.29 ‘*śīraḥ*’, GP. 147.16 ‘*sṭhivānam, rakta-pittasya loṭhanam śīrasōtīrī*’ which seems to be a modified version of AH. 2.31—*raktapittakaphaṣṭhīvo lolanam śīrasōtiruk*.

GP. 147

AH. 2

19 मलसंसर्गः, प्रलापितः

32 मलसंसर्गः, प्रलापिताः

18 दोषपाकश्चिरं तन्द्रा, हतौजसम्

33 दोषपाकश्चिरात्तन्द्रा, हतौजसम्

20 विवृद्धे

34 विवृद्धे

20b सज्जिपातज्वरोऽसाध्यः कृच्छ्रसाध्यस्ततोऽन्यथा

34 असाध्यः सोम्यथा कृच्छ्रो भवेद्देहकथ्यदोऽपि वा ।

21 अन्यत्र सज्जिपातोऽथ, च वा

35 अन्यत्र सज्जिपातोऽथ, अथवा

- 26 अभिषङ्गग्रहोऽयस्मिन्
37 अन्वितं, आनुबलः, कुर्यात् पितं
39 विकृत
40 तीक्ष्णत्वमन्दाग्नि, विजीर्णा
43 भूयसामुपदिश्यते
45 सततं
46 उष्ण
47 वासरान्
49 शुद्धया, अप्यत्र
55 सन्ततं
57 मलैर्मैदोमज्जास्थ्यन्यतरे स्थिते ।
58 मज्जास्थ, एव ह्यपरः, अनुदर्शयेत्
59 उपगते

GP. 148

- 1 तिक्तं
2 पैत्तिकैः
5 छर्दितच्छर्दितैर्मत्स्य
7 उन्मादधर्मित्वं
9 साधितम्
10 यत्र
10 यस्य विशुद्धौ श्लेष्मणा हिताः
11 कटुतिक्त
13 संसृष्टं
14 प्रतिलोमिनः
15 अभिसंज्ञितम्
16 सर्वथा छर्दनं हितम्, लक्ष्यते, विकृतिं
फलतस्तेषु साधितम्

GP. 149

- 1 स एवातः प्रवक्ष्यते The Aṣṭāṅga-
Saṅgaha (AS.), (P. 267)
has the same reading

- 3 शुष्ककर्णस्थिकण्ट्वं, विहितः, संसृजन्
4 उत्क्षिपन्ति च, क्रिष्टस्वरः
5 हृत्पाश्चैरः शूलमोहक्षोभस्वरक्षयान्
6 शुष्ककासश्च
8 कासवेगे च, मूर्च्छि

- 40 अभिषङ्गात् ग्रहेणास्मिन्
51 अन्वितः, आनुबल, कुर्यात् पितं च
53 विकृति
54 तीक्ष्णत्वमलानि, विजीर्णा
57 भूयसात्पदिश्यते
59 सन्ततं
60 उष्मा
61 वासरान्
63 शुद्धयौ, अप्यनु
55 सततं
72 मले मैदोमज्जास्थ्यन्यतमे स्थिते ।
72 मज्जास्थ, एवेत्यपरे, स तु दर्शयेत्
73 उभयगते

AH. 3

- 1 तीक्ष्ण
2 पित्तलैः
5 छर्दिच्छर्दितैर्मत्स्यं
7 तद्वर्णदर्शित्वं
8 साधनम्
9 यत्र
10 अप्यस्य विशुद्धश्लेष्मणो हिताः ।
10 किमु तिक्ताः
13 संसृष्ट
14 प्रतिलोमगम्
14 अभिसंज्ञितम्
15 सर्वजिच्छमनं हितम्, लक्ष्येत, विकृतिज्ञान-
तस्तेषु चाधिकम् ।

AH. 3 contd.

- 17 तमेवातः प्रवक्ष्यति

- 19 शुष्कपूष्णभिकण्ट्वं, विहितः, संसृजन्
20 उत्क्षिपन्ति च, वृष्टमुरः
23 हृत्पाश्चैरः शूलं मोहक्षोभस्वरक्षयान्
23 शुष्कं कासं च
25 कासवेगेन

- 10 क्षतः
12 विभिन्नेनैव
14 इवात्कृजन्
15 श्वासपृष्ठकटिग्रहः
19 अपि नवौ
20 सामर्थ्यात्, साध्यादौ च वृथक्क्रमः
20 मिश्रा याप्याश्च ये सर्वे जरसः

GP. 150

- 8 धीबलान्ते
9 अर्हति
9 आर्तिमान्
10 श्वासः
11 नरस्य
13 दष्टिः, अक्षम्तु, स्निग्धद्
16 सुदुर्लभं, उच्छ्रित्यूर्ध्वं

GP. 151

- 8 हिक्का
4b जन्तुमूलपरिखृता मन्त्रवेगनी हि सा
5 आयास्यतो
5 या हिक्का संप्रवर्तते
7 जृम्भिता
7 हिक्का
8 ध्वन्
8 सुख्यती
9 हिक्का
10 शला
10 च, सा
11 महत्कुर्यात्, जृम्भणं
11 गम्भीरेण निनादेन, गम्भीरा तु सुसाधयेत्
13 कृशस्य

GP. 152

- 2 कथ्यते
3 क्षयान्ते समभवेच्च सः, इति राजवान्

- 26 मूर्धं
28 क्षते
29 विभिन्नेनैव
31 इवात्कृजन्
32 स्याच्च पृष्ठकटिग्रहः
36 अभिनवी
37 सानाध्यात्, साध्या दोषैः पृथक्त्रयः
37 मिश्रा साध्या द्वयात्सर्वे जरसा

AH. 4

- 8 निष्ठयूतान्ते
8 श्लच्छति
9 अर्तिमान्
9 श्वासी
10 नवा वा
12 दग्, अक्षध्व, मुद्यन्
15 सुदुर्लभं,
16 ऊर्ध्वं श्चित्यूर्ध्वान्

AH. 4 contd.

- 19 हिष्मा
22a जन्तुमूलप्रावसितामल्पवेगां मृदुं च सा
22 आयास्यतो
23 आहारे या प्रवर्तते
24 जृम्भिता
25 हिष्मा
25 मन्त्रध्व
26 मुष्णती
27 हिष्मा
27 मूला
28 वा, या
28 सुदुःकुर्यात्, जृम्भाम्
29 गम्भीरेणानुनादेन, गम्भीरा तादृ साधयेत्
30 क्षतस्य

AH. 5

- 1 स्मृतः,
क्षयस्तस्मिन्वाच सः, तेषु राजानान्

- 5 व्यर्थ, ताः शिराः प्रपीडयन्
 6 निसृज्य, मर्त्यं, व्यथा सञ्जनयेद्बुद्धः
 7 उवरः, मार्दवं
 8 शुच्चावशुचिवीक्षणः
 9b पाण्डूरुवक्षःपादास्यकुक्ष्यक्षामतिशुक्रता
 10 प्रतोदो जिह्वायाः
 11 केशास्थि
 12 ज्योतिर्दिवि दवाग्नीनां
 13a पीनसश्वासकासस्रस्वरमूर्धरुजोऽरुचिः ।
 13a निःश्वास
 14 संधिस्थे
 15 वह्निमान्धास्यपूतिता
 16 शूलं च साङ्गमर्दनम्
 17 कण्ठरोधः
 18 स्वरभेदः
 18 शोथलेयः
 19 धातुषु स्वल्पकेषु
 20 अम्लयुक्ते रसेयुतम्,
 प्रायोऽस्य क्षयभागानां नैवाक्षं चाङ्गपुष्टये
 21 रसो ह्यस्य
 22 अतिक्षीणे
 23 तस्य
 24 उष्णोपशमः, भवति संततम्
 25 मुखं, घुरघुरायते, सर्वलिङ्गैः क्षयो भवेत्
 26 उदेति श्लेष्मलक्षणम्
 26b कृच्छ्रसाध्याः क्षयाश्चात्र

GP. 153

- 3 दुष्टैरन्यैश्च
 6 कृच्छ्रे, अनुकृच्छ्रेण
 6b कासास्यशोषकं वातास्वरपीडासमन्वितम् ।
 7 कट्ट तिर्कं, दाहपाक

GP. 154

- 2 शून्यतात्यर्थं, भुज्यते, रोदिति, भ्रमः
 3 शब्देऽसहिष्णुता
 4 हि

- 5 कर्क, तान् शिराश्च प्रपीडयन्
 6 विवृत्य, सर्पन्, यथास्वं जनयेद्भदान्
 7 क्षयः, सदनं
 7 शुच्चावप्यशुचीक्षणम्
 9b प्राणोरूप्यवेक्षा पादास्यशोकोऽक्ष्णोरतिशुक्रता
 10 प्रमाणजिज्ञासा
 11 केशाति
 13 ज्योतिर्गिरीणां पतनां
 13b पीनसश्वासकासांमूर्धस्वरुजोऽरुचिः ।
 14 विद्भ्रंश
 14 संधिगे
 16 वह्नितादास्यपूतिताः
 16 शूलमसाङ्गमर्दनम्
 17 कण्ठव्सः
 18 स्वरसादः
 19 सापलपैः
 19 धातुस्मस्वल्पकेषु
 21 अक्षपकत्रैव चास्य यत्,
 प्रायोऽस्मान्मलतां यातं नैवालं धातुपुष्टये
 22 रसोऽप्यस्य
 23 अपि क्षीणे
 24 तत्र
 25 अपशमः, उक्तावस्यनम्
 26 मन्दं, खुरखुरायते, सर्वलिङ्गैः क्षयात्कषेत्
 27 भेदसा श्लेष्मलक्षणः
 27b कृच्छ्रलक्ष्याक्षरश्चात्र

AH. 5 contd.

- 30 द्विष्टैर्यैश्च
 32 कृष्णं, अच्छं कृच्छ्रेण
 33a कासास्यशोषहृन्मूर्धस्वरपीडाङ्गमान्वितः ।
 34 कट्टष्णं, तापदाह

AH. 5 contd.

- 39 शून्यतेऽत्यर्थं, तुद्यते स्फुटतीव, द्रवः
 40 शब्दासहिष्णुता
 42 च

- 6 शोधः, कण्डूः
7 सततं
8 बलक्षयः, च
9 दृष्ट्
10 शिराः
11 ताल
11 हुद्गाराक्यन्तथामयः
12 मेदः
13 अम्लान्पकेन
14 सततं
16 सवेदा
17 रक्तस्य, वातपित्तता
17 उष्णाक्रान्तस्य, शीतो भवति दुःसहः
18 तृष्णा, स्नेहपाकजा
20 मोह

GP. 155

- 1 अम्ल, आद्य
2 विकासि, मद्यमेदसः
2 तीक्ष्णाद्याश्च दिव्युकाश्चितोपतापिनो गुणाः ।
3 जीवितान्ताः प्रजायन्ते विशेषोत्कर्षवर्तिनः ।
4 इन्द्रियाणि च
4 अपि, प्रमदाद्यतने
5 एवम्
5 मद्यपाने मतिर्यस्य प्राप्य राजासनं मदैः ।
ततः
5 अवाच्यानां
7 दर्शकः, परः
7 सततं बाण्डेन्, अत्र
8 मानामानं
11 विमेद
12b चप्नेनेवाभिभवति न चोक्ष्व स भाषते ।
13 मोहो नित्यश्च दृढमः, निद्राश्चोदरगौरवम्
14 ज्ञात्वा
15 मारुतान्
16a शब्दासहस्रं तच्चित्तविक्षेपाज्ञे हि वातरुक्

- 44 शोधः, कण्डूः
44 प्रततं
4 रसक्षयात्, तु
47 तृष्ट्
47 सिराः
49 जिह्वा
49 तृष्ट्ग्रहोकास्तथाऽमयाः
50 तोदः
51 शिताम्बुपानाद्
51 प्रततं
53 आभ्यानं
34 भक्तस्य, वातपित्तजा
55 उष्णाक्रान्तस्य, शीताम्भो भजतस्तृषम्
55 उष्मा, स्नेहजा च या
57 मेह

AH. 6

- 1 उष्ण, अम्ल
2 विकासि, मद्यमोजसः
2 तीक्ष्णाद्यो विषेऽप्युकाश्चितोपप्लाविनो गुणाः ।
2 जीवितान्ताय जायन्ते विषे तृष्यैवृत्तिनः ।
2 दशभिर्देस
4 तु, प्रमादाद्यतने
4 अपि
5 मध्यमोत्तमयोः सन्धि प्राप्य राजसतामसः ।
जडः
6 अवयानां
6 देशिकः, परम्
7 शववच्छेते, तु
8 अर्थानर्थ
15 विड्मेदः
18b खप्ने भ्रमत्युत्पति प्रेतैश्च सह भाषते ।
19 मोहोतीसारतृष्ट्भ्रमाः, नीद्रोददाज्ञगौरवम्
19 मुक्त्वा
22 ध्वंसके
22b शब्दासहस्रं तन्त्रा च विक्षयेक्षविरोतिरुक्

16	श्वसत्पुष्पावभिज्वराः	23	कासत्पुष्पा वजिज्वरः
17	निवर्तैयस्तु	23	निवृत्तो यस्तु
18b	वसा, क्लेदना, बलोद्भवाः	25a	रसा, चेतना, बलोत्तराः
20a	रक्ताल्पत्वाद्भूताभासश्चलच्छलितचेष्टितः	26b	सफानल्पद्रुताभाषश्चलः स्खलितचेष्टितः
20b	श्याम, मये	27a	श्याव, मदे
21	स्वप्नसम्बन्धवाक्यादिः हि सः	28	स्वल्पसम्बद्धवाक्याण्डुः, अलसः
22	रक्तास्तम्भाद्गृध्रणम्	28	रक्तास्तम्भाद्गृष्टिता
22	तु, विकृतेह स्वराश्रता	29	च, विकृतेहस्वराश्रता
23	विशेत्कम्पातिनिद्रा	29	विषे कम्पोऽतिनिद्रा
23	अभ्यधिकं श्रमः,	29	अभ्यधिकस्तु सः
	लक्षणादिषु	30	शोणितादिषु
24	नीलकृष्ण, आपश्यन्	30	कृष्णनील, पश्यन्
25	कासः, च	31	कार्श्य, ये
26	तृष्णोपपीडितः, पीतनीलाभो, अरुण	32	तृटतापपीडितः नीलपीताभो, आकुल
27	कफे स, पदयत्वाकाशं, ह्लासः सुप्रसेकवान्	33	कफेन, पदयन्नाकाशं
		34	सहृष्टासः प्रसेकवान्
28	त्रिदोषैश्च	35	त्रिभिर्दोषैः
31	भवन्ति तेन पुरुषाः काष्ठभूता मृतोपमाः ।	38	कुर्वन्ति तेन पुरुषाः काष्ठीभूतो मृतोपमाः
32	श्वाण्वे	39	श्वातटे
33	मदमानो रोषतोषं लभेयुरिति निश्चितम्	40	रमदमानरोषतोषप्रभृतिभिर्निमित्तैः परिचरः
34	सामर्थ्यं प्रकृति सहायमभवा	41	बलकालदेशासाम्यप्रकृतिसाहायानयवयांसि ।
	वयांसि कुरुते ।		प्रविभज्य तदनुरूपं यदि पिबति ततः
	प्रविचिन्त्य तनुं रूपं पिबति ततः		पिबत्यमृतम् ॥
	पिबन्त्यमृतम् ॥		

Now, follows a section which treats of certain readings where the AH. seems to be right and where the GP. readings are wrong or less preferable. Thus e.g. the GP. (146.15) reads 'dhāvana' whereas the AH. (I.14) reads 'dhārana' which is better as it is the holding back which aggravates the vayu rather than running. The GP. (146.17a) reads 'Pittam Kaṣṭvamlatikṣṇo-
ṣṇakrodhavidāhibhiḥ' whereas the AH. (I.16a) reads 'Pittam kaṣṭvamlatikṣṇo-
ṣṇapaṭukrodhavidāhibhiḥ', here the reading of second 'kaṣṭu' in GP. seems to be wrong as it is merely a repetition whereas the reading 'paṭu' in AH. can be taken as an adjective of krodha to mean 'excessive anger', the Gujarati edition of AH. gives the meaning of 'Paṭu' as salty. The GP. (146.18) reads 'svapnādibhṛṇṇaṇiḥ' the AH. (I.17) reads 'Svapnātibhṛṇṇaṇiḥ', the AH. reading is better as it is excessive fat which enrages cough. The GP. (146.22) reads 'dhātorduṣṭāt' for 'ṛtorduṣṭāt' (AH. 1.21), 'vighrahāveṣaviplavāt' for 'grahā-

veśādvīṣāḍgarāt', here the AH. reading is better as it is the wrong season, the influence of *grahas* and poison which lead to a combination of the enraging of *doṣas* and not the spoiled *dhātu* and sudden change of one's mode of living as the GP. seems to suggest. The GP. (146.23) reads '*atīśleṣma*' whereas the AH. (1.22) reads '*parvatāśleṣa*', here the AH. reading is better as 'living very near a mountain leads to the aggravation of *doṣas* and not excessive accumulation of Phlegm in the body. The GP. (146.23) reads '*miśropacārataḥ*'. The AH. (1.22) reads '*mithyopacārataḥ*' the AH. reading, viz. 'wrong treatment is better as it leads to the aggravation of the *doṣas* and not 'mixed treatment'. The GP. (147.1) reads '*mṛtyurājo'sano*', the AH. (2.1) reads '*mṛtyurojo'sano*', the reading of AH. is better as fever eats away ojas ('*ojo'sanaḥ*') which is helpful in nourishing all elements in body. The GP. (147.2) reads '*tatsantāpaḥ*' whereas the AH. (2.2) reads '*Janmāntayoḥ*' the AH. reading is better because the fever brings swoon at the time of birth and death whereas the reading '*tatsantāpaḥ*' does not convey any meaning and seems to be a scribal error. The GP. (147-9) reads '*śosāvapi*' the AH. (2.24) reads '*śosārati*' which is better as it states that when both kapha and pitta are aggravated the mouth dries up and one is affected by a general depression. The GP. (147-15) reads '*mahasito*' '*hi naivavā*' the AH. (2.30) reads '*Kaṇṭhaḥ śūkarivācitaḥ*', the GP. reading is corrupt as it means that in the fever caused by the concerted action of the deranged *vayu*, *pittam* and *kapham*, one has violent shivering or absence of shivering', whereas AH. (2.30) states that in such a fever one gets an itching sensation in the throat as if the thorns are pinching it. The GP. (147.2) reads '*Pitte*', and '*adya vai*', whereas the AH. (2.37) reads '*śīte*', and '*amlakaḥ*', here the AH. readings are better, as the context is of '*śītādisannipāta*', and naturally it states that in the *śītādisannipāta*, when the cough abates with '*pitta*' and when the shivering sensation is abated one gets acidity, swoon, vertigo and thirst, whereas the GP. reads that with the abatement of the action of the aggravated *Pittam* comes on fainting, vertigo and thirst etc. The GP. (147.23b) reads '*dāhādu punarantesu tandrāṣye vamiḥ kramāt*' which means somnolence, languor and vomiting manifest themselves in succession at the close of the paroxysm at the end of the burning sensation. The AH. (2.37a) reads '*dāhādau punarante syustandrāṣṭhivamīkīlamāḥ*' which means that in the '*dāhādisannipāta*' when the burning sensation comes to an end, the pitta is abated by the melted cough and therefore due to increase in cough one gets languor, salivation, vomiting and boredom. The *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* (on p. 263) reads '*dāhādu punarante syustandrāśvedavamīklamāḥ*'.

The GP. (147.24) reads '*tu kṛtaḥ sveda*', the AH. (2.38) reads '*atra kṣataccheda*', which is better as the preceding *śloka* says that fever due to external causes is of four kinds: '*abhīghṛtaḥ*', '*abhīṣaṅgaḥ*', '*śāpaja*', and '*abhicāraḥ*' and in the above *śloka* it defines the *abhīṣaṅgaḥ* which is caused by

a wound, cut, burning and strain whereas the GP. reading has no relevance. The GP. (147.25) reads 'śokaṃ' which seems to be a scribal error, whereas the AH. (2.39) reads 'śophaṃ', which means swelling which is one of the effects of 'abhigbātajvara'. The GP. (147.27) reads 'atisāraśca śyāvatā', the AH. (2.41) reads 'atisārāśyaśyāvatā', which is better as it means that the fever caused by poison turns the mouth into a tawny colour. The GP. (147.27) reads 'dāhakaṛḍbhramah' and the AH. (2.41) reads 'dāhahṛḍgadāh' which means that in fever caused by poison, the heart is affected. The GP. (147.27) reads 'rūpāḍau', 'tayoh' and 'kopātkopēpi' and the AH. (2.43) reads 'bhayāḍau', 'traye' and 'kopah kopēpi' which is better, as the context states that in all the three fevers, viz. caused through fear, distress and kāma, vāyu is aggravated and in the fever caused due to anger, pitta, is also aggravated. The GP. (147.30) reads 'hūyamānaśca', the AH. (2.44) reads 'hūyamānasya', the AH. reading is better as it means that in the fever caused through spells, first the mind of the man whose name is uttered while performing the homa, i.e. the man whom one wants to harass starts burning. The GP. (147.31) reads 'dighbhramaḥ', the AH. (2.45) reads 'ṛḍbhramaḥ' which is better as it states that in the fever caused through spells one feels thirsty and giddy. The GP. (147.35) reads 'ca sa sādhitah' and the AH. (2.49) reads 'ca susādhyatā' which is better as it means that in the *bahirhūga sannipāta* there is merely external trouble and it can be easily cured. The GP. (147.44) reads 'tulyadr̥ṣṭyā' and the AH. (147.58) reads 'tulyadīśyā' which is better as it states that in the *santatajvara*, the vāyu, pitta and kapha are aggravated by their own enraging factors. The GP. (147.45) reads 'tasyā-viśeṣeṇa' and the AH. (2.59) reads 'stabdhāviśeṣeṇa' which means that in the *santatajvara*, the malas are stabdha. The GP. (147.18) reads 'yā ca' the AH. (2.62) reads 'yāvat' which is preferable as the matter under consideration is the period of *santatajvara*. The GP. (147.49) reads *vyādhiyukātānāṃ*, the AH. (2.64) reads *vyādhimuktānām* which means that even if a person is free from disease, the *duṣya* elements, viz. dhātu, time, place etc. can bring *viśama* fever. The GP. (147.51) reads 'savikṣepah', and the AH. (2.65) reads 'savipakṣah'. The GP. (147.53) reads 'jādyādīnām dadhātī saḥ', the AH. (2.67) reads *jādyādīnād-adhātī saḥ* which means that when the *viśamajvara* is abated, the *doṣa* which brings it does not disappear altogether but it brings changes into the body, like dulness etc. The GP. (147.53) reads 'vikṛtāśya' the AH. (2.7) reads 'vivṛtāśya' which is better as it states that the openings of the *śrotas* are near the *āmāśaya* and as they are quite wide, the fever spreads in the whole body quickly. The GP. (147.54) reads 'vyāptirdoṣo na' whereas the AH. (2.68) reads 'vyāpti-doṣeṇa' which is better as it says that due to the proximity of the openings of fluids, the fever spreads in the whole body, the GP. says that it does not.

The GP. (147.60) reads 'abhyaceṣṭādi janmanām', the AH. (2.74) reads 'annaceṣṭādijanmanā' which means that the nature of *viśamajvara* changes
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according to the change in the nature of food, etc. The GP. (148.2) reads ' *anyaiḥ* ' and ' *taḍuktaiḥ* ' the AH. (2.1) reads ' *annaiḥ* ' and ' *tadyuktaiḥ* ' which is better as the context describes foodgrains (*anna*) like ' *kodrava* ' and ' *uddālaka* ' etc. and the other preparations made of them (*tadyukta*). The GP. (148.3) reads ' *vyāpnuvat* ' and the AH. (3.2) reads ' *vyāpnuṭaḥ* ', the GP. (148.3) reads ' *pittaraktasya* ', the AH. (3.2) reads ' *pittaṃ raktasya* ' which is preferable as the matter under discussion is ' *why pitta is called rakta* '. Similarly the GP. (148.4) reading ' *gandhavarṇānūvṛtteṣu* ' is wrong whereas the AH. (3.3) ' *gundhavarṇānūvṛtteṣu* ' *ca* ' is right as it says that the smell and colour of pitta are the same as those of blood. The GP. (148-6) reads ' *loḥito na hi to matsyagandhāsyatvaṇca vijvare* ', the AH. (3.5) reads ' *lohalohitamatsyāmagandhāsyatvaṇ svarakṣayaḥ* ', the AH. reading is correct as it describes the preliminary symptoms of ' *raktapitta* ', viz. to have the smell of iron, blood, fish and mango from the mouth. The GP. (148.9), reads ' *baddhaṣaḍhasya* ', the AH. (3.9) reads ' *bahvaṣaḍham* ' *ca* ' which is better as it means that there are many medicines for *raktapitta*. The GP. (148.10) reads ' *Kaphāvahāḥ* ' the AH. (3.10) reads ' *kaphāpahāḥ* ' which means that the bitter medicines can destroy phlegm (*kaphāpahāḥ*) and therefore the disease is curable. If the GP. reading is taken as the correct reading, it will give contrary meaning. The GP. (148.10) reads ' *adho yāpyaṇca nāyuṣmānstat* ', the AH. (3.11) reads ' *adho yāpyam calādyasmātat* ', the AH. reading is better as it means that in the ' *adhogāmī raktapitta* ' there is a greater quantity of Vāyu. The GP. (148.12) reads, ' *navamaṣaḍham* ', the AH. (3.11) reads ' *na varaṣaḍham* ', the latter is better as it means that in the *adhogāmī pitta* vomiting is not the remedy, similarly the GP. (148.12) reads ' *yasya śāntapittanarasya* ' *ca* ', the AH. (3.12) reads ' *yarṣca śāntaye'pi na tasya tat* ', which is better as it means that in the ' *adhogāmī pitta* ', vāyu is not pacified by vomiting. The GP. (148.13) reads ' *kaṣāyāśca hitaḥ* ' and the AH. (3.12) reads ' *kaṣāyāśca hitāḥ* ', which is better as it qualifies the medicines. The GP. (148-13) reads ' *upanāmanam* ' and the AH. (3.13) reads ' *ubhayāyanam* ', which is better as it describes the *ubhayagāmī raktapitta* after describing *ūrdhvagāmī* and *adhogāmī*. The GP. (148.14) reads ' *asahyam pratilomatvād* ' and ' *asādhyaṭ* ', the AH. (3.14) reads ' *aśakyapratilomatvād* ' and ' *abhāvāt* ', which is better as it means that in the *ubhayamārgī raktapitta* as the *raktapitta* oozes from both the sides, it is impossible to turn them in the opposite direction (*aśakyapratilomatvād*) and there is an absence (*abhāva*) of any medicine for this disease. The GP. (148.15) reads ' *saṃśodhanamiheṣyate* ', the AH. (3.15) reads ' *sarvaśo nāsyavidyate* ' which is better as it means that there is no medicine which can pacify all the *doṣas*. The GP. (148.18) reads ' *doṣōtra gamanam* ', the AH. (3.16) reads ' *doṣānugamanam* ' the AH. reading is better as it says that in the *raktapitta* which *doṣa* is *anugāmī* can be known from the characteristic signs of blood flowing in veins. The GP. (148.15) reads ' *śivāstra* ' and the AH. (3.16) reads ' *śirāśra* ',

which is better as the matter under consideration is the veins through which the blood flows. The GP. (149.7) reads '*pīṭākṣikatā*' whereas the AH. (3.24) reads '*pīṭākṣki iphatā*', which is better as in the cough due to pitta, both the pitta and eyes become yellowish.

The GP. (149.9) says '*kaṇṭhe pralepamadanam*', the AH. (3.26) reads '*kaṇṭhopalepaḥ sadanam*' which is better as it means that the cough covers up the throat. The GP. (149.11) reads '*kupitam*' and the AH. (3.29) reads '*kuthitam*' which is better as it means that in the '*kṣatakāśa*', the cough is foul smelling (*kuthita*). The GP. (149.15) reads '*kaṣṭhādyairvananam paktibala varṇaśca hīyate*', whereas the AH. 3.31 reads '*kramādvīyam rūciḥ paktiḥ balaṃ varṇaśca hīyate*', the reading of AH. is better as it means that in the '*kṣatakāśa*', the virility, sense of liking and disliking, digestive capacity, strength and brightness of complexion get decreased. The GP. (149.17a) reads '*supyate tudyata iva hrdayam pucatīva ca*', whereas the AH. (3.34) reads '*lucyate iva pāśve ca hrdayam patatīva ca*' which is correct as it means that the patient feels as if his sides are being snatched off from its original place and the heart as if falls down from its place. According to the GP. it means that the patient feels as if his heart is being boiled and the patient complains of heat. The GP. (149.18) reads '*darśana*' and the AH. (3.35) reads '*daśana*' which is better as it means that in the case of consumption the teeth look beautiful.

The GP. (150.6) reads '*sa samalam*', the AH. (4.5) reads '*saṃśamanam*' which is better as it means that the '*kṣudraśvāsa*' pacifies vāyu automatically. The GP. (150.7) reads '*moharuciram*', and the AH. (4.7) reads '*mohamarucim*' which is better as it means that in '*Tamakaśvāsa*' the vāyu creates moha and aruci. The GP. (150.11) reads '*jvaramūrchavataḥ śītalīna śāmyetprathamastu saḥ*' the AH. (4.11) reads '*jvaramūrchāyutaḥ śītalīḥ śāmyetpratamakastu saḥ*' which is better as it means that the '*Pratamakaśvāsa*' gets curried only with cold medicines, cold food etc., the GP. reading conveys a contrary meaning. The GP. (150.12) reads '*kāśaśvasitavatīrnamarmacchedaruṣārditāḥ*', the AH. (4.11) reads '*chinnācchvasitī vicchinnaṃ marmacchedaruṣārditāḥ*', which is better as it means that in the '*mahāśvāsa*' the chest '*vaḥśaḥ*' gets stretched. The GP. (150.17) reads '*śrotraḥ*', the AH. (4.16) reads '*srotāḥ*', the AH. reading is correct because it means that in the '*ūrdhvaśvāsa*', the mouths of the *srotas* are filled, with the cough and not the ears (*śrotrāḥ*). The GP. (150.17) reads '*vīkṣyate*', the AH. (4.17) reads '*vīkṣate*', the latter is correct as it means that in the '*ūrdhvaśvāsa*', the patient's eyes are raised up.

The GP. (151.2) reads '*bhavyodbhavā*' the AH. (4.19) reads '*bhaktodbhavā*' which is correct as it means the hiccough is caused by eatables. The GP. (151.3) reads '*aśāntaiḥ*', the AH. (4.20) reads '*aśāntayāḥ*' which is correct as it means that the '*annaṣā*' is produced by taking unwholesome substances. The

GP. (151.3) reads *hikkām marutām* the AH. (4.20) reads '*hidhmāmarujām*' which is correct as it means that *annajā* hic cough does not cause pain (*aruja*). The GP. (151.3) reads '*kṣudhānugām*' and the AH. (4.20) reads '*kṣavānugām*' which is correct as it means that one sneezes after the *annaja* hic cough. The GP. (151.3) reads '*samam*' the AH. (4.21) reads '*śamaṃ*' which is correct as it means that the *annaja* hic cough abates (*śamaṃ*) with wholesome food. The GP. (151.3) reads '*sandhyānnapānena*' the AH. (4.21) reads '*sātmyānnapānena*' which is better as it means that the *annajā* hic cough gets abated with wholesome food (*sātmya*) and not by eating at twilight (*sandhyā*). The GP. (151.6) reads *parināmā mukhe*, the AH. (4.23) reads *pariṇāmonmukhe* which is correct as it means that '*yamālā*' hic cough catches speed when the food is digested

The GP. (152.5) reads '*śarīrasandhīm*' which is wrong and the AH. (5.5) reads '*śarīrasandhīm*' which is correct. The GP. (152.9) reads '*asṇānē'pi*', the AH. (5.9) reads '*aśnato'pi*' which is correct as it means that in the chlorosis, even though one may eat (*as'nato'pi*) one feels that one is getting weak. The GP. (152.11) reads '*patanam*', the AH. (5.11) reads '*Patanga*', which is better as it means that in the preliminary symptoms of culosis, the patient starts seeing in dreams, butterfly etc. The GP. (152.12) reads '*turau*', the AH. (5.12) reads '*rāśau*' which is correct as it means that in the dream the patient climbs the heap of hair, ash etc. The GP. (152.14) reads '*sthitē pārśve ca rughodhī*', the AH. (5.14) reads '*tryaksthe pārśvarugbodhī*', which is correct as it means that in culosis, if the dosa has entered the side, one gets pain in sides. The GP. (152.15) reads '*Karnidhvamśakuro rujaḥ*', the AH. (5.15) reads '*kaṇṭhodhvamśamurorujam*' which is better as it means that in the culosis, the voice becomes cracked and one gets pain in the chest. The GP. (152.19) reads '*vidāho manasah sthāne bhavantyinye hyupadravāḥ*', the AH. (152.20) reads '*vidahyamānaḥ svasthāne rasas-tāṃstānupādīavān*', the AH. reading is better as it means that in '*rājayakṣmā*', as the mouths of the *srotas* are barred and as the strength of *dhātus* is lessened therefore the digestive fluid, getting ripe only in the *āmāśaya*, creates various troubles. The GP. reading seems to be a scribal error. The GP. (152.21) reads '*kūṇte tu tat*', which is incorrect, the AH. (5.22) reads '*kuta eva tu*' which is correct as it means that in the '*Rājayakṣmā*' as the digestive fluid is incapable of creating even pure blood, what to talk of building flesh out of it? The GP. (152.21) reads '*samantācca*', the AH. (5.22) reads '*sa śakṛtā*', which is better as it means that the patient of '*Rājayakṣmā*' lives only because the intestines are filled with ordure. The GP. (152.22) reads '*vyādhaṁ śatkarayaksayam*', the AH. (5.23) reads '*vyādhyausadhabalāksamam*', which is correct as it means that the doctor should give up hope for such a patient who is incapable of undergoing the treatment and who is not strong enough to bear through the disease. The GP. (152.23) reads '*śarvasya medasām*', the AH. (5.24) reads '*śaṣṭhaśca*

medasā which is correct as it means that the sixth reason for the disease '*svara-bheda*' is 'fat'. The GP. (152.25) reads '*kaphaih*', the AH. (5.26) reads '*kaphāt*' which is better as it means that in the '*svarabheda*' caused by cough one feels as if the *svara* is rubbed against the throat. The GP. (152.25) reads '*svayaṃ viruddhatī*', the AH. (5.26) reads '*svaro vibaddhatī*', which is correct as it means that in the '*svarabheda*' caused by cough, the voice stammers. The GP. (152.26) reads '*sarvairalpañca varjayet*', the AH. (5.27) reads '*sarvairantyam ca varjuyet*', which is correct as it means that among six kinds of svarabhedas, the last two '*antya*' are incurable.

The GP. (153.3) reads '*Yathā manah*', the AH. (5.29) reads '*Yathā-malam*', which is better as it means that in the '*arocaka*' the taste of the mouth changes in accordance with the aggravated *doṣa*. The GP. (153.4) reads '*adhikṛtān*' and '*sarvaṃ sandhyārdhamasyati*', the AH. (5.30) reads '*vikṛtaḥ*' and '*sarvānpyūrdhvasyati*' which is correct as it means that in vomiting when the '*udāna vāyu*' becomes '*vikṛta*', it throws out all the *doṣas*. The GP. (153.4) reads '*upamāḥ*', the AH. (5.31) reads '*agragāḥ*', which is correct as it means that in all the five kinds of vomits the '*utkleśa*', '*āsyalavānya*', '*praseka*' and '*aruci*' are '*pūrvārūpa*' (*agragāḥ*). The GP. (153.5) reads '*raṇjatyāśuḥ*', the AH. (5.31) reads '*rujan vāyuh*' which is correct as it means that in the vomit caused by *vāyu*, the *vāyu* throws up the food. The GP. (153.8) reads '*pīta*' and '*ślesmatastu samākṣikam*', the AH. (5.34) reads '*śītaṃ*', and '*ślesmatantugavākṣitam*' which is correct as it means that the vomit due to cough is cold and full of cough. The GP. (153.9) reads '*tantri*', the AH. (5.35) reads '*tandrā*', which is correct as it means that in the vomit caused by cough, the patient feels drowsiness.

The GP. (154.1) reads '*hrdgaṭāḥ*' the AH. (5.38) reads '*hrdgaāḥ*' which is correct as it means that now the description of heart diseases begins. The GP. (154.3) reads '*vepānānmoha*', the AH. (5.41) reads '*veṣṭanam mohah*' which is correct as it means that in heart-disease the patient feels that he should roll on the ground and has a sensation of swoon. The GP. (154.4) reads '*dhamakalpitaḥ*', the AH. (5.42) reads '*dhamakah pītatā*' which is correct as it means that in the heart-disease caused by '*pitta*' one becomes smoky-coloured and pale. The GP. (154.18) reads '*tikṣṇāgre*' and the AH. (5.56) reads '*tikṣṇāgneḥ*' which is better as it means that one with a sharp digestive faculty gets the '*tṛṣṇā*' disease due to aggravated *kapha* by drinking oil. The GP. (154.19) reads '*kaṭu*', the AH. (5.56) reads '*guru*' meaning that the *tṛṣṇā* caused by heavy food (*guru*) is due to aggravated *kapham*.

The GP. (155.2) reads '*vipadam*', the AH. (3.6) reads '*viśadam*' which is correct as it means that one of the characteristics of wine is that it is '*viśada*'. The GP. (155.3) reads '*madyān māndyādīnaujaso guṇāḥ*' the AH. (6.3) reads

'*madyam mandādinojaso guṇān*', which is correct as it means that during the first effect, the ten characteristics of wine produce '*vikāra*' in the mind by describing the characteristics of '*ojas*' etc. The GP. (155.11) reads '*saumyo glāniḥ*', the AH. (6.15) reads '*saumyāgneyaḥ*' which is correct as it means that the symptoms of '*madātyaya*' are that in it one gets the feeling of cold (*saumya*) and hot feverish sensations. The GP. (155.11) reads '*purāḥ*' the AH. (6.16) reads '*urāḥ*', which is correct as it means that in the '*madātyaya*' one feels as if the chest is heavily pressed. The GP. (155.15a) reads '*bhavatām pāyinaḥ kāṣṭhe dravye tasyāviśeṣataḥ*' the AH. (6.21b) reads '*bhavetām mārūtā-kaṣṭau durbalasya viśeṣataḥ*' which is better as it completes the idea given in the previous line and states that if a man after giving up drinking again begins to take it or starts taking a different kind of wine which does not suit his constitution, a man who has a weak constitution, gets the diseases called *dhmaṇsaka* and *vikṣaya* by the aggravated *vāyu*. The GP. (155.26) reads '*bhinnavat*' the AH. (6.33) reads '*bhinnaviṣ*', which is correct as it means that in the swoon due to *pitta*, a person passes ordure. The GP. (155.28) reads '*rājacarmā-vabandhavat*', the AH. (6.34) reads '*ādracarmāvanaddhavat*', which is better as it means that in the swoon caused by aggravated *kapha* one feels as if one is covered with a wet hide. The GP. (155.30) reads '*atibalōmanāḥ*', the AH. (6.37) reads '*atibalā malāḥ*' which is better as it means that very strong *doṣas* create *sannyāsa* disease. The GP. (155.31) reads *sa* '*sannyāsānnipatitāḥ*' and '*prāṇāghātena*', the AH. (6.37) reads *sannyāsaṇi sannipatitāḥ* and '*prāṇāyatana*' which is correct as it means that strong *doṣas* create the disease called *sannyāsa* residing in the heart (*Frāṇāyatana*). The GP. (155.33c) reads '*yuktyā yuktaṃ ca vimuktihetave madyamayuktaṃ narakādeḥ*', the AH. (6.40) reads '*yuktā-yuktaṃ ca samam yuktivyuktena madyena*' which means that if one drinks wine indiscriminately one is unable to mark any difference between what is proper and improper.

There are many instances where it is difficult to decide which is better, since both are correct from different points of view and here it is necessary to compare the mss. in order to determine which one of the two might be the original reading. Thus, e.g. the GP. (147.4) reads '*śautyaṃ*', the AH. (2.22) reads '*śvautyaṃ*', here both the readings can be held as correct since both the effects, viz. coldness of skin as well as paleness are possible in case of deranged cough. The GP. (147.4) reads '*aṇṣeṣu ca samudbhutāḥ pīḍakāśca kaphodbhave*' and the AH. (2.22) reads '*aṇṣeṣu śītapīṣṭikāstandrodardāḥ kaphodbhave*' both may hold good, as the GP. means 'appearance of eruptions on the body, and the AH. means 'white skin eruptions, idleness and elergy'. The GP. (147.54) reads '*kṣāpākdālena saṅgavān*', the AH. (2.69) reads '*krīyākalōnuṣaṅgavān*'. The GP. means that the attacks of '*viṣamajvara*' are usually nocturnal, whereas the AH. means that '*viṣamajvara*' lasts for a very long time. The GP. (147.55)

reads 'sandhau syāt' which means that the *satatajvara* affects the body at the time of the *sandhikāla*, whereas the AH. (2.70) reads 'sa dvīḥ syāt' which means that it affects the body twice a day. The GP. (147.59) says that in the 'caturthakaviparyaya' fever, the paroxysm comes on the first day, and continues for three days - 'tryahaṃ' - in succession, completely going down on the fourth, whereas the AH. (2.74) says that it comes for two days and then does not come for a day, again the same order is repeated. The GP. (149.7) reads 'madaḥ', the AH. (3.25) reads 'amlakaḥ', both are possible as the GP. says that the cough due to pitta causes intoxication whereas the AH. says that it causes acidity. The GP. (149.9) reads 'śleṣmaṇāṇca pravartanam', the AH. (3.27) reads 'śvetaśleṣma-pravartanam'. The GP. (149.16) reads 'miśraṃ', the AH. (3.33) reads 'visram.' The GP. (150.7) reads 'bhr̥ṣam', the AH. (4.7) reads 'tṛṣam'. The GP. (151.6) reads 'grīvāṃ yamalāṃ tām vinirdīset' and the AH. (4.24) reads 'grīvāmādhmāstasyāti tṛṣyataḥ', both are possible as the GP. means that it is called *yamalā* and the AH. says that in the *yamalā* hiccough, the neck throbs, one gets *ādhmāta*, and feels thirsty. The GP. (151.8) reads 'śruti', the AH. (4.25) reads 'sāsra', the AH. reading is correct as it means that in 'mahatī' hiccough the eyes are filled with water. The GP. (151.9) reads 'rudantī mārgamānasya', the AH. (4.26) reads 'rudhantī mārgamānasya' which is correct as it means that the 'mahatī' hiccough obstructs the path of food. The GP. (151.9) reads 'sārya', the AH. (4.27) reads 'śoṣaṃ' which is correct as it means that one becomes thin in the 'mahatī' hiccough. The GP. (151.12) reads 'anye', the AH. (4.29) reads 'antye', which is better as it presents a contrast to the 'ādye', occurring in the stanza. The GP. (152.8) reads 'laulyamārgāṇna' the AH. (5.8) reads 'sthālyamatrāṇna'. The GP. (152.17) reads 'kāśānardhāṅgagauravam' which means that in the 'rājayakṣmā' due to cough one vomits and gets a feeling of heaviness in one half of the body, the AH. (5.18) reads 'kāśo mūrdhāṅgagauravam' which means that one vomits cough, and feels heaviness in head and body. The GP. (153.3) reads 'sarvaṃ vītarasaṃ', the AH. (5.29) reads 'sarvotthe vīrasam', both are possible as it means that in 'arocaka', according to the GP., one loses taste of everything and according to AH., the taste in mouth gets spoiled because of the accumulation of all the 'doṣas'. The GP. (153.9b) reads 'sarvaliṅgaḥ samāpannastyājyo bhavati sarvada' which means that in the fever due to the concerted action of all the three morbid principles of vāyu, pitta and kapha, the patient does not find any pleasure even in the most congenial topics, the AH. (5.36) reads 'sarvaliṅgā malaiḥ sarvai riṣṭoktā yā ca tām tyajet', which means that both kinds of vomits, viz. one which is caused by all the *doṣas* accumulated together and the one described in the 'riṣṭādhyaḥ'—in both of them all the *doṣas* work, they should be given up as they are incurable. The GP. (153.10^a) reads 'sarvaṃ yasya ca vidviṣṭaṃ' which means that to a person suffering from the vomit due to cough, everything seems hateful, the AH. (5.36b)

reads 'pūtyamedhyāśucidviṣṭa' which means that 'dviṣṭārthayogajā' vomit is caused by seeing or hearing about objects which stink, which are dirty, unclean, abhorring and repulsive. The GP. (153.10b) reads 'saṃkruddhā, 'kṛmi-duṣṭānnaḥ gade' and the AH. (5.37) reads 'vimṣetkṛmitṣṇāmadauhrde'. The GP. means that the type due to the presence of worms in the intestines or to the ingestion of any stale or unwholesome food manifests shivering, nausea etc. as its specific indications, the AH. means that the symptoms of the vomit caused by vāyu are worms, thirst, āma and pregnancy. The GP. (154.4) reads 'śramah', the AH. (5.41) reads 'bhramah', the GP. means that in the heart-disease caused by pitta one feels exhausted whereas the AH. means that one feels giddiness. The GP. (154.5) reads 'agnimāndyāsyavai-kṛtām' which means that the symptoms in the heart disease due to deranged kapha are impairment of digestive faculty and distaste in mouth, the AH. (5.42) reads 'bhārikam sāsmaḡarbhavat' which means that the patient feels as heavy as if he is filled with heavy stones. The GP. (154.5) reads 'asthi', the AH. (5.43) reads 'agni'. The GP. means that in the heart disease due to deranged kapha, the patient feels pain in bones, the AH. means that the patient feels impairment of digestive faculty. The GP. (154.6) reads 'hṛdroge hi', the AH. (5.43) reads 'sarvaṅgaḥ' both mean 'in the heart-disease due to the concerted action of the deranged vāyu, pittam and kapham'. The GP. (164.7) reads 'śighramāriṇam' which means that the medical treatment of some of the serious types of 'hṛdroga' should be begun as soon as its symptom manifests otherwise it speedily turns its course and terminates fatally in most instances (śighramāriṇam), the AH. (5.45) reads 'śighrakāriṇam' which means that the serious varieties of hṛdroga should be immediately treated (śighrakāriṇam). The GP. (155.10) reads 'bhavedroga madātyayaḥ', the AH. (6.14) reads 'catvāraḥ syurmadātyayaḥ', the GP. (155.14b) reads 'sarvaṅga rucirañcāsyā matidhvamsakavikriye', the AH. (6.21a) reads 'sahasānucitam vānyattasya dhvamsakavikṣayau'.

Now follows a list of cases where the wordings differ due to grammatical changes which are necessary to suit the construction of each text.

Thus

G.P. 146	A.H. 1
14 अहितः	13 अहिते
16 भुक्तयन्ते	15 भुक्तान्ते
22 तथाऽन्नपरिवर्ततः	20 तथाऽन्नपरिवर्तनात्
G.P. 147	A.H. 2
1 क्रुद्ध, चंसि	1 क्रोधः, चंसी
31 मूर्च्छाप्रलस्य	45 मूर्च्छाप्रलस्य
34 पवनेः	48 पवने
42 लङ्घनम्	56 लङ्घनात्

52 क्षीणदोषः	66 क्षीणे दोषे
६६ सपूर्वशिरसानिलात्	73 स पूर्व शिरसोऽनिलात्
GP. 148	AH. 3
2 मूर्च्छति, तैः	2 मूर्च्छिते, ते
GP. 149	AH. 3 contd.
15 राज्यक्षमणः	32 राज्यक्षिमणः
16 यक्षमायतन	33 यक्षमायतनैः
GP. 150	AH. 4
3 गमन	3 गमनः
4 दुष्ट	4 दुष्टः
6 प्रेरयन्, शिरा, गच्छेत्	5 प्रेरयेत्, शिरा, गच्छन्
GP. 152	AH. 5
10 भृणित्वा	10 भृणित्वं
14 राज्यक्षमणः	15 राज्यक्षिमणः
GP. 153	AH. 5 contd.
6 युतः	32 युतं
10 हृत्तासः, कृमिजे भवेत्	38 हृत्तासैः कृमिजां वदेत्
GP. 154	AH. 5 contd.
2 शुष्यते	40 शुष्यति
7 दीयते, तच्छीघ्रं	44 दार्यते, तं क्षीघ्रं
9 सर्वेषु	46 सर्वासु
11 कार्कश्ये, निष्क्रमणे	49 कार्कश्यं, निष्क्रमणं
15 स्त्रोतश्च सकफं	52 स्त्रोतःसु सकफः
16 यः स स्यात् सर्वलक्षणः	54 सर्वैः स्यात् सर्वलक्षणा
19 आमोद्भवान्	54 आमोद्भवा
GP. 155	AH. 6
10 सामान्यलक्षणं	15 सामान्यं लक्षणं
13 श्लेष्मणच्छदि	20 श्लेष्मणा छदि
25 वारुणच्छाया, मारुतात्मिका	31 वारुणा छाया, मारुतात्मके
29 मदमूर्च्छाया	36 मदमूर्च्छायाः
30 संन्यासेन	36 संन्यासः

The are a few cases of scribal error. Thus, e.g.

GP.

AH.

146.1 दुष्टं	1.1 दुःखम्
146.21 मृत्यवसरपूतिः	1.20 मृत्यवसरापूतिः
146.24 रोगविध्यनुगामिनः	1.23 रोगाधिष्ठानगामिनीः
or 35	

146.24 रसायनं	1.23 रसायनीः
147.5 विपरीतो यथापि वा	2.23 विपरीतोपशायिताः
147.50 दुष्ट्यादेः, लब्धा	2.64 दुष्ट्यादेः, लब्धा
147.58 कफोणिज्जाभ्यां	2.73 कफेन ज्जाभ्याम्
150.5 आयासोऽतिभोजनैः	4.5 आयासातिभोजनैः

Sometimes the GP. seems to make a deliberate change. Thus, e.g. the GP. (146.19) reads 'vukṣyāmi saṅkarāt,' and the AH. (1.18) reads 'dvandvām tu saṅkarāt,' here the GP. states in general that the treatment of a combination of the deranged vāyu, pittam and kapham follows, whereas the AH. (1.18) states that now follows a treatment of two doṣas getting enraged when two causes combine.

In some cases the GP. improves upon the AH. Thus the GP. (1.15) reads that acid food (amlaṃ) and voracious eating (apramita) aggravate the bodily vāyu, whereas the AH. (1.14) says that limited quantity of food cannot enrage vāyu. The GP. (147.22) reads 'kaphe', while the AH. (2.36) reads 'kaphau'. The GP. (149.21) reads 'kāśā' and 'tān', the AH. (3.38) reads 'kāśā' and 'taṃ'. The GP. (150.15) reads 'pranāṣṭa', the AH. (4.14) reads 'pranāṣṭa' which is grammatically wrong.

GP. and AS.

There are some ślokaś of the GP which do not have their corresponding reading in the AH. but they are found in the AS. written by Vāgbhaṭa himself. Thus the GP. (147.3) is not found in the AH., but is found in the AS., where 'jaladeṣu' is read as 'jalajeṣu' and some words are dropped. This verse is also translated and given in brackets in the Gujarati edition of the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya. It gives different names of fevers belonging to different animals. The GP. (147.19) is not found in the AH. but it is found in the AS. (P. 262), but the GP. reads 'kaṇṭharuddhena' and 'pravartate' whereas the AS. reads 'kapharuddhena' and 'prapadyate.' The GP. (147.50b) viz. 'sapratyānsko viṣamaṃ yasmādvṛddhikṣayānvitah' is not found in AH, but it is found in AS (P. 264) which reads it as 'sapratyāniko viṣamaṃ kuryāt vṛddhikṣayānvitah'. The GP. 147.62b to 80 are not found in the AH., but most of the portion is found in the AS. The GP (147.67c) reads 'śvāśah', the AS. (P. 265) reads 'sāśah', both of which may hold good. The GP. (147.68) reads 'rakṣasah', the AS. reads 'raktoṣṇah', which is correct, similarly in place of 'pralāpo' (GP. 147.73c) the AS. reads 'pralāpāh' which is correct. The following are the variants in GP. (147.68...) and AS. (P. 265), the sign √ notes the reading as right, the × notes the reading as wrong.

GP. 147

69 दीर्घान्धं वा ×

70 अस्थिरस्ये √

As. P. 265

स्वगन्धस्य √

अस्थिरस्ये √

71a उद्धोवः ×	ऊर्ध्वाधः ✓
71b ह्रिक्ता ✓	P. 266 ह्रिष्ठा ✓
71b प्रवृत्तौ ✓	प्रवृत्तिः ✓
73a पञ्चान्त्ये तु विपर्यये ×	पञ्चात्रान्त्यो वर्जयेत् ✓
73c प्रलापः ×	प्रलेपः ✓
× ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓
74a क्षीतकृच्छ्रागच्छति	क्षीतः कृच्छ्रं सिध्यति
74 अंगबलाशकः ✓	वातबलाशकः ✓
75 भेद ×	मेक ✓
75 यत्र ✓	यस्य ✓
76b तीक्ष्णोऽथवा दिवा मन्दो ×	तीक्ष्णो वा यदि वा मन्दो ✓
77a दिवाकरार्पितबले ✓	दिवाकरापीतबले ✓
78 यदा आत्मस्थे, ×	यदा दुष्टे ✓
अधःस्थिते ×	व्यवस्थिते ✓
78b तदर्ध ×	तदाऽर्धे ✓
79a न्यस्तं ×	दुष्टं ✓
81 सदोषमुष्णञ्च सद्यः शक्नुमन्नाति वेगवत् ✓	सदोषशब्दं च शक्नुवं सृजति वेगवत् ✓

While comparing the texts, one finds that some portion of the AH. has no corresponding response in the text of the GP. Here one is inclined to feel that the portion which is not found in the GP. might have been added in the text of AH. afterwards, but on a proper scrutiny one finds that wherever the portion is missing in the GP., it breaks the link, thus it seems an omission in the GP and not an interpolation in the AH.

The śloka 3-21 of AH. (adh. 2) are omitted in the GP. after 147.3. This omission breaks the link in as much as the GP, thereby omits the discussion of pittaajvara and vātaajvara and also one śloka of kaphajvara even though it was necessary to discuss them.

The śloka 75b-78 of AH. (adh. 2) are not found in the GP. after 147-60 whereas the śloka 62b to 80 (GP.) are not found in the AH, but have corresponding readings in the AS. (PP. 265, 266). The Portion of AH. (2.75b-78) which is omitted in the GP. deals with the reasons of changes taking place in the nature of viṣamajvara and the characteristics of the abatement of fever. The śloka 21b to 22 of AH. (adh. 3) are not found in the GP. after adh. 145-4. They deal with the difference in the pain of five kinds of cough. The line 5-20b of AH. is not found in the GP. after 152.19. The line is 'kuryādagaacchanmāṇi-sādhinasrk cordhvaṇi pradhāvatī,' i.e. the blood (which is not completely pure) rushes towards the upper region without reaching the flesh (and thus comes out through vomit or saliva). The AH. (5.39a) viz. 'tapte citte hr̥di kṛiṣṭe chardi-

dviṣṭārthayogajā gives an additional symptom for the '*dviṣṭārthayogajā*' vomit, viz. that it is caused by mental tension and heaviness of heart. This is not found in GP. after 153.10A. The AH. (6.8-13) is omitted in the GP. after (155.8). It discusses the harm that is caused by drinking wine, the harm that is caused if the wine is taken indiscriminately and the characteristics of people who are affected by drinking wine and are not affected by it. The AH. (6.14b) reads '*sarve'pi sarvairjdyante vyapadeśastu bhūyasā*' which is omitted in the GP. after 155-10a. It means that there are four varieties of madātyaya but the particular variety is named after the aggravated doṣa.

The AH. (6.16a) reads '*śirahpārśvāsthīrtkampō marmabhedastrikagrahaḥ*' which is omitted in the GP. after 155.11a. It means that in madātyaya one feels as if his heart is pierced and the lower part of the spine is paralysed. The AH. (6.17b-18a) reads that in the madātyaya one gets pralāpa, vomit, utkleśa, giddiness and bad dreams and in the madātyaya caused by vāyu one cannot sleep and one breathes heavily, shivers and suffers from headache. This portion is omitted in the GP. after 155-12a. The AH. (6.19b) reads *deho haritadāridro raktanetra-kapolatā,* which is omitted in the GP. after 155-13a. It means that in the madātyaya caused by pitta the body becomes yellowish and the eyes and cheeks become red. After 6-24a, the AH. adds '*iti madātyayanidānam*', and after 6.25, it adds *atha madanidānam*, after 6.30, it adds '*iti madanidānam*' *atha murchāyanidānam*, after 6.35b, it adds *iti murchāyanidānam*, *atha sannyaśanidānam*, after 6.39 it adds '*iti sannyaśanidānam*'.

Some ślokas of the GP. are not traced. Thus the GP. (147.6-7½) treats '*āmajvara*', it seems to be an interpolation as it breaks the link of the discussion of three kinds of fevers caused by vāta, pitta and kapha. The GP. (147.60b) viz. '*pakvānāmaviniryāsūtsaptarātrañca laṅghayēt*', is not found in the AH. as well as AS. It emphasises the need of fast for seven days when the deranged morbid principles are not eliminated in well-digested condition. The GP. (149.13a), viz. '*dukhasparśena śūlena bhedapiḍā hi tāpīnā*' is not found in either AH. or AS, which treats of the complaints of patient. This line is not very significant as the meaning is already conveyed in the previous line. The GP. (155.1) describing the condition of the patient is not traced.

Abbreviations :

Adh. — adhyāya

AH. — Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdaya by Vāgbhaṭṭa.

Ed. Sastu Sāhityavardhaka Kāryālaya, 1952.

AS. — Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha by Vāgbhaṭṭa

GP. — Garuḍa Purāṇa

Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1964.

YAMA-YAMĪ DIALOGUE

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There are certain hymns in the RV which are known as *Ākhyāna*-hymns or *Samvāda*-hymns or ballads or mythological ballads¹. One of the most interesting of these hymns is the Yama-Yamī dialogue (RV 10.10) which is a "valuable fragment of art of narration in ancient times"². This Ṛgvedic torso finds a later version in thirteenth chapter of the Narasimhapurāṇa (=NP)³. The chapter 12 ends with the Mārkaṇḍeyacarita which is described as '*amṛtā, punyā, sarvapāpaprāṇāśinī Vaiṣṇavī kathā*' (13.1-3) Śuka requests Vyāsa to narrate him another *punyā, pāpaharā kathā* (13.1,3,4) and in response to his request he narrates him this famous Yama-Yamī dialogue. This *kathā* is said to be a *vaidikī kathā* (14.1) as well as a *vedapadārthanīcitam ākhyānam* (13.41) by the NP itself.⁴ It is, therefore, proposed in this paper to make a comparative study of both these versions.

The RV-version (10.10) introduces the listener directly to a dialogue between the twin brother and sister Yama and Yamī, whereas the NP has a prefatory tract which informs us that Vyāsa narrated it to Śuka at the request

¹ For a discussion of previous theories about these hymns vide Alsdorf L., *Ākhyāna Theory Reconsidered*, Journal of the Oriental Institute, (Baroda), Vol. XIII, No 3 (1964), pp 194 ff

² Winternitz M., *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 105. On RV 10.10 vide Danekar R. N., *Yama in the Veda*, B C Law Volume, Part I, pp. 195, 196, 204 ff

³ The NP is also called *Nṛsimha*—or *Narasimhapurāṇa*. It is "one of the oldest and most important of the extant Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas". (Hazra R. C., *Studies in Upapurāṇas*, Vol. I, p. 219) "The date of the present *Narasimhapurāṇa* is to be placed between 400 and 500 A.D. It is highly probable that this Purāṇa was written in the latter half of this century". (Hazra R. C., *op. cit.*, p. 242). Moreover, "chapters 13-18 have a Pāñcarātra stamp, because in these chapters Nārāyaṇa and the eight syllabled mantra 'om namo Nārāyaṇāya' are praised and there is no mention of the name 'Kṛṣṇa'. That chap. 13 is a later addition is also shown by the absence of praise of Viṣṇu or Vaiṣṇavism in this chapter (dealing with 'ama-Yamī/samvāda) except in the line 'cittam me nirmalaṁ bhadre Viṣṇau Rudre ca samśhitam' (spoken by Yama to Yamī) which gives unlike the other chapters the same place to Viṣṇu and Rudra. As the interlocutors Śuka and Vyāsa of chapters 13-18 are first introduced in chap. 7, these chapters are most probably later than chap. 7-12". (Hazra R.C., *op. cit.*, p. 254). In this paper the unspecified references are to the second edition of the NP published by Gopal Narayan & Co., Bombay, in 1911.

⁴ This Yama-Yamī-Kathā is styled in the NP as *samvāda* (13.6), *upākhyāna* (13.38), *ākhyāna* (13.41) and also as *purātana itihāsa* (13.6). The colophon also reads *Yama-Yamī-Samvādo nāma...* On the terms *purāṇa*, *ākhyāna* and *itihāsa*, vide Gupta Anand Swarup, *Purāṇa, Itihāsa and Ākhyāna*, Purāṇa, Vol. VI, No. 2 (July 1964), pp. 451 ff.

of the latter to the former to tell a *puṇyā, sarvapāpapaṇāśinī, pāpaharā Valsṇavī kathā* (13.1,3,4 as noted above), which is as follows:—

Yama and Yamī are the children of Vivasvat who is the son of Aditi. Yamī is said to be younger to Yama (14.7). According to the Matsyapurāṇa, Vivasvat is the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi. And Yama and Yamī are the twin children of Vivasvat and Tvāṣṭrī Samjñā.⁵ Once Yamī approached her brother and made a fervent passionate appeal to him. In her raging passion she states condemnably that a brother deserves not to be called so, if he does not become her husband. She grows tempestuous and goes to the extent of making a lustful request that he should unite himself with her (13.9-16). Yama repulses her advances by saying that he will not unite himself with her (13.17). He points out that such an act is not only declared a *mahāpātaka*, but it is 'paśūndm eṣa dharmah' (13.19). In defence to him he further remarks that whatever she pleaded for was *loka vidviṣṭadharma* (13.19).

In spite of Yama's ethical argument she tries to legitimate her point by reminding him that when their former union in one place—in the mother's womb—was not calumniating, defiling, and blemishing, why he should not, then, long for her who is *anāthā* (13.19-20). Yama tries to rebut this argument by pointing out that even Svayambhū would condemn such an abominable act.⁶ Moreover, he points out that the non-doing of condemned acts is a characteristic of *Dharma*. He repeats that her fervid request is nothing but an *atipāpa*. He points out also that sages have declared it a *pāpa*, if one draws one's sister unto oneself. He says further to her that she may delight herself with any one who is mad after her. And he categorically states he would not be her husband (13.21-27). Yamī, then appealingly, refers to his peerless beauty and youthful age and laments that she does not know whereon he has set his mind and heart and why he does not love an enticing beauty deeply enamoured of him when, like a creeper entwining a tree, she has sought his refuge and would like to stay interlocked in embrace (13.27-30). Yama steadfastly repulses Yamī's longing

⁵ *Vivasvān Kaśyapāt pūrvam Adityām abhavat sutaḥ |
tasya patnīrayaṃ tadvat Saṃjñā Rājñī Prabhā tathā ||
Rāvatasya sūtā Rājñī Revatāṃ sūsuve sutaḥ |
Prabhā Prabhūtāṃ sūsuve Tvāṣṭrī Saṃjñā tathā Manuḥ ||*

Yamaś ca Yamunā caiva yamalau tu babhūvatuḥ | Matsyapurāṇa 11.2-4

Note that Yama and Yamī are called *yamalau*. It is significant to note that "the word *yama* has also the appellative meaning 'twin'." (Macdonell A. A., *Vedic Mythology*, p. 172) and *yama* means 'rein' (Macdonell A. A., *op. cit.*, p. 172). For the linguistic consideration of the name *yamā* vide Dandekar R. N., *op. cit.*, pp. 202-203.

⁶ *Svayambhuvāpyanindyetallokaṃyṛtaṃ jugupstam | NP. 13.2. S.K. De and R. C. Hazra propose to emend the reading with a sign of interrogation as follows.*

Svayambhuvāpi nindyeta lokaṃyṛtaṃ.... | Purāṇetihāsaśaṅgrahaḥ (An Anthology of the Epics and Purāṇas), p. 328.

urge and observes again that she should embrace another man who is mad after her like a mad male elephant embracing a female elephant and be his wife. By referring to a dictum of the wise men, Yama observes that the *suvidvat* will not commit a *dūṣaṇa* even for the sake of a *varyā* and *susaṃskṛtā* woman. He is *dṛḍhavrata* and *dṛḍhacitta* and will not commit a repentful act. He further says that his mind is well established in Viṣṇu and Rudra (13.31-35)⁷. Tempestuously she persisted repeatedly in her passionate advances, but Yama disdained her request resolutely and did not do what was unworthy of doing and thereby ultimately he obtained the *devatva* (13.36).

A study of both these versions shows that there is a close parallel between the two. Some of the arguments taken up from RV 10.10⁸ are presented either as they are or expanded or altered, while some of them are dropped in the NP-version.

The germs of Yami's passionate request to Yama in 13.9-16 are seen in RV 10.10.7, 11 wherein the utterances of Yami are very forceful. Cf. :—

Yamāśya mā Yamyaṃ kāmā āgan
tsamāné yónau sahaśéyyāya |
jāyéva pātye tanvām riricyām
vī cid vrheva rātheya cakrā || RV 10.10.7 Cf. also RV 10.10.3 cd.
ki'm bhrā'tāsad yād anāthām bhāvātī
ki'm u svāsā yān nī'rṣīr nigācchāt |
kā'mamutā bahvētād rapāmi
tanvā me tanvām sām piprgdhī || RV 10.10.11

For NP 13.16-18, 26 cf. RV 10.10.12

nā vā' u te tanvā tanvām sām paprcyām
pāpām āhur yāḥ svāsāraṃ nigācchāt |
nā te bhrā'tā subhage vaṣṭyētāt || RV 10.10.12

Note that in RV 10.10.12b it is the person who is called a *pāpa* (cf. *pāpakā-riṇam*, Sāyaṇa), whereas in the NP (13.18) the act is called a *mahāpātaka* 'na te saṃyogajayisyāmi kāyaṃ kāyena bhāmini' (13.17) is a paraphrasing of 'nā vā u te tanvā tanvām sām paprcyām' (RV 10.10.12a).

The NP 13.19 cd-20 ab seems to be indebted to RV 10.10.5 ab. Cf.

gārbhe nū nau janitā' dāmpatī kar
devās Tvāṣṭā Savitā' vīśvārūpaḥ | RV 10.10.5 ab.

In the RV 10.10.10 Yama sees the portent of future moral degeneration in the incestuous relations between a brother and a sister and asks her to look for somebody else for her husband. In the NP also Yama appears to have a

⁷ Vide fn. 3 ante.

⁸ RV 10.10 is repeated in AV 18.1.1 ff.

tacit feeling of the R̥gvedic Yama and hence he in the NP makes a general statement that the best people in the society are the guides and beacon-lights for the behavioural pattern and activities of the people at large and hence he will not touch her body (13.23 ff). Yama's advice to Yamī to look for another man as her husband in 13.25-26 finds a parallel in the RV :

any'na mād āhano yāhi tū'yaṃ

tēno vi' vṛha rāthyeva cakrā' || RV 10.10.8 cd⁹

śipa barbrhi vṛṣabhā'ya bāhūm

anyām icchasva subhage pātīm māt || RV 10.10.10 cd

anyēna māt pramūdaḥ kalpayasva | RV 10.10.12 c

The simile of a creeper clinging a tree (13.30) finds its parallel in RV 10.10.13d, 14b (cf *pāri śvajāte li'bujeva vṛkṣām /*). In the RV 10.10.13d Yamī employs this simile, while telling him (i.e. Yama) that he will be embraced by another woman and Yama employs it while telling her that she will be embraced by another man. In the NP it is employed by Yamī while pointing out her deep attachment to Yama.¹⁰ Yamī's speech—' *hrdayaṃ na jānāmi* '—in the NP finds its parallel in Yāmi's speech—' *nāivā'te māno hr'dayaṃ cāvidāma /* (RV 10.10.13 ab). Yama's direction to Yamī viz. *anyaṃ śrayasva suśroṇi devam.....* (13.31) finds its parallel also in Yama's direction to Yamī in the RV with words: *anyām ū śi tvām yamyanyā u tvā'ṃ pāri śvajāte* (RV. 10.10.14 ab ; cf. also RV. 10.10.10. cd).

In the NP (13.7) Yama and Yamī are said to be the children of Vivasvat, but according to RV 10.10.4 cd Gandharva and the water-nymph are the origin of Yama and Yamī. Here Geldner observes that "Gandharva in the RV is almost equal to the Sun-god and he is just as Vivasvat in several places equal to the Sun-god".¹¹ But elsewhere in the RV (10.10.5; 10.17.1-2) Vivasvat is Yama's father and Saranyū, the daughter of Tvaṣṭr, is his mother.¹² It is significant to note that according to the Matsyapurāṇa (11.3, vide fn. 5 ante) Tvāṣṭri Samjūā is the mother of Yama and Yamī, the twin brother and sister. Yama's blatant refusal in the NP to accede to Yamī's invitation on the ground that his pure mind is set in Viṣṇu and Rudra reminds one of Yama's drawing Yamī's attention to the laws of Mitra and Varuna and to the spies of gods who walk down here and do not wink their eyes.¹³

⁹ *vi-vṛh* has a secondary connotation. Vide Geldner, *Der R̥gveda*, Dritter Teil, HOS 35, p. 135, fn. to RV 10.10.10 cd. I am highly grateful to Mr. J. Jansen, Lecturer in German, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda, for translating the relevant portion from Geldner's *Der R̥gveda*.

¹⁰ Note also that the R̥gvedic simile viz. the girth (surrounding) the harnessed horse (*kakṣyēva yuktaṃ..* RV 10.10.13 c) occurs in a changed form and different context in the NP: *anyā vā kariṇā hastikakṣeva* (13.29).

¹¹ Geldner, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

¹² Macdonell A. A., *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 42, 172.

¹³ *byān Mitrāśya Yārunasya dhā'ma.....* RV 10.10.6c. The law of Mitra and Varuṇa referred to here is a moral law. (Geldner, *op cit.*, Note to RV 10.10.6c on p. 135). (*Contd.*)

As in the RV¹⁴, Yama, the brother, stands in the NP for the moral law which is higher. This is testified by Yama's persistent refusal to Yamī's amorous demands and advances and this bears testimony to his being *dīḍha-vrata* (13.35,36) and *dṛdhacitta* (13.35). Likewise the Rgvedic version the NP-version ends with a disagreement and there is no incest. The Rgvedic version does not tell us as to what happened afterwards, but the NP-version tells us in the concluding part through Vyāsa's speech that Yama obtained the *d. vatva* (13.36), as a result of his not committing that act inspite of his being repeatedly solicited for it. His obtaining the *devatva* tends probably to suggest that he was not a *deva* before. In this aspect the NP appears to retain one of the Vedic aspects in the evolution of Yama-mythology.¹⁵ According to RV 10.10.3 and AV 18.3.13 Yama is a *martya* which is "a unique aspect of Yama's character."¹⁶ "He is never explicitly called a god in the RV",¹⁷ even though he is mentioned in the company of the gods. As A. A. Macdonell puts, "thus it is implied that Yama is a god",¹⁸ but as R. N. Dandekar observes, "it is equally significant that Yama is never called a 'man'".¹⁹

In the NP Yama stresses the moral and ethical side the germ of which is already traceable to the RV (cf. 10.10.12b). Yama emphasises to Yamī all the while that their union would be a *mahāpātaka* and in this ideology the NP follows the Dharmaśāstra-idea.²⁰

En passant it may be mentioned that Yamī of the NP has not all the arguments of Yamī of the RV to impel Yama to accept and make fruitful her proffered love. For example, Yamī of the NP has not that argument that 'it is the son's bounden duty to give his father a grandson if he thinks of the future on the earth' which Yamī of the RV (cf. RV 10.10.1) has in course of her dialectics. Yamī of the NP is not keen on the procreation and furtherance of the race, as Yamī of the RV where "the procreative instinct of the female is quite unmistakable."²¹ In the NP she is keen on inviting Yama successfully to her. Yamī of the NP is not so bold enough as the one of RV,²² to take on herself the responsibility of Yama's unbrotherly behaviour at her own invitation

nā tiṣṭhanti nā nī' miṣṇtyetē

devā'nām spāsa ihā yē cāvanti | RV 10.10.8 ab. Cf also RV 10 10 2 cd

¹⁴ Vide Geldner, *op.cit.*, p. 133.

¹⁵ About the different stages in the evolution of Yama-mythology, vide Dandekar R. N., *op.cit.*, pp. 203 ff.

¹⁶ Dandekar R. N., *op.cit.*, p. 194

¹⁷ Dandekar R. N., *op.cit.*, p. 194.

¹⁸ Macdonell A. A., *op.cit.* p. 171.

¹⁹ Dandekar R. N., *op.cit.* p. 194.

²⁰ Vide Manusmṛti 11.54, 58. See Kullūka on Manusmṛti 11.58.

²¹ Dandekar R. N., *op. cit.*, p. 205; cf. RV 10. 10. 1,3

²² Cf. Yamī'r *Yamāsya bibhryād āyām*/RV. 10. 10. 9d

and initiative. Unlike Yamī of the RV²³ she in the NP does not condemn and stigmatise Yama as *batā*²⁴ on her disdained love. Finally it may be mentioned that over and above the moral argument of Yama, the *Purāṇakāra*²⁵ refers to another point of this *Yamayamyupākhyāna* (13.38). In the epilogue to this *ākhyāna* (13.41) he says that it bears the infinite fruit—the *svargaphala*—to persons of resolute mind and who do not commit sins. Its listening is said to be ever sin-destroying. The satiated *pitṛs* are said not to enter the *Yamālaya*, if it is recited daily by a Brahmin at the time of *havyakavya*. Thus this *ākhyāna* is with an ethical and a didactic point.²⁶

²³ *batā batāsi Yama... / RV 10.10.13a*

²⁴ *batā*: Sāyana: *durbalah*, Geldner, (*op. cit.*, p. 136): 'a miserable man'; *vide* Mayrhofer M., A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary, pp. 403-404.

²⁵ Note also that due to the conventional moral sense of the Vedic poets and priests, the real motif of the Vedic episode is also changed to a different perspective. (*Vide* Dandekar R. N., *op. cit.*, p. 205).

²⁶ Note in this connection the argument based on the idea of *mahāpātaka* discussed in the course of this paper. Incidentally, it may be mentioned the RV 10.10 is "a real ballad with a moral point" according to Geldner (*op. cit.*, p. 132).

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